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HISTORY

Of the Late

Revolution

I N

ENGLAND,

With the

CAUSES & MEANS

By which it was

ACCOMPLISHD.

TOGETHER

With the *Settlement* thereof under their
most Serene *Majesties* King *William*
and Queen *Mary*, by the *Lords* and
Commons Assembled in this present
Parliament.

L O N D O N,

Printed in the Year, 1689.

England. [After -
Her. 11. 1600]

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THE
PREFACE.

THE *Causes of this
last Revolution, so
happy to the whole
Nation, if, like Foelices A-
gricolæ, we knew our own
Felicity, are already set forth
with that Authority and A-
curateness of Truth, that there
will be no occasion to give any
fartber Account to the World,*

The Preface.

of what has been done with so much Industry already. Only these few Sheets transmit to Publick View the Order and Conduct of the whole Proceedings, by means whereof the Greatest Revolution in the World was brought to pass with so much silence, that it seemed to be no more then the Change of a short Bluster of Confusion busb'd into a sudden Calm of Peace and Order. The whole Enterprize seem'd to be one Link of Success and Prosperity, proceeding from the Justice and Merits of the Undertaking. Such are generally those



The Preface.

so those Revolutions which are
ly the Consequences of Govern-
to ments weakned by the Mis-
nd carriages of the Governours,
ed when Princes rather choose to
be be ruled and sway'd by bad
the Advice then wholesome Coun-
ss sel, and make it their business
it rather to command then obey
the the Law.

of Therefore it was that nei-
len ther Galba, Otho nor Vi-
be tellius succeeded in those swift
be Revolutions of the Roman
ro- Empire, because they sought
the not to repair and support the
n- Ruins of the Falling Structure
lly of Imperial Government; but
ose to

The Preface.

*to gratifie their own Ambition
and Inordinate and Voluptuous
Desires. But the Senate and
People of Rome most willingly
resigned the Empire to Vespasian's Moderation and Sobriety,
because they were confident of
his Virtuous Intentions. And
such was the Revolution in
Portugal, where the Nobility
and Gentry had that Success,
to carry on a Contrivance
of some years, without any Discovery
of the Jealous and Prying Spaniard,
and to set up John of Braganza,
without so much as three hours
Disturbance in the Chief City of the
Kingdom;*

The Preface.

Kingdom; because their Design was no more then to set their Country Free from the Slavish Yoke of the Spaniard and Tyranny of the Inquisition.

We are passed from a Reign of like that of Tiberius, Ubi sæva iussa, continuæ accusationes, fallaces amicitia, pernicies Innocentium, under the gentle Rule of an Antoninus Pius, of whom it was said, Provincia sub eo cunctæ floruerunt. A Happiness which it were to be wished that the restless and wayward Spirits of some People, would not so Industriously labour to wrest from the

The Preface.

the future Story of his present Majesty; though due Consideration would soon give them to understand how much they toil in vain.



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Certain it is that nothing more provokes and irritates a Nation, born to Freedom, as the English Nation is, then attempts to deprive them of the ancient Constitutions of their Liberty. Like the *Thracians* in *Tacitus*, among whom there being a Rumor spread, that the Romans intended to rout them out of their strong holds, and to transplant and mix them among other Nations, sent their Embassadors to the General of the Romans, *Poppæus Sabinus*, that they would be mindful of their Friendship and Obedience, if no new Burthens were impos'd upon them ;

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but

but that if they were design'd for Slavery, like vanquish'd Persons, they wanted neither Weapons, nor Youth, nor a Courage, ready to defend their Liberty, or to dye in the maintenance of it. Nor were the English less sensible of the endeavours of their late Princes to have got themselves out of the Wardship of their Parliaments, and to have brought the whole Nation into a Subjection and Slavery, like that in *France*, where the King of *France* tramples upon the Necks of his Subjects at his own Will and Pleasure, and that they took all the ways and methods of *Lewis* the XI. to obtain their Ends. So that the Encroachments of the Prince growing so high and ripe for Execution, they thought it high time to bestir themselves, in order to the throwing off that yolk which so apparently threaten'd their own and the Necks of their Posterity. So far was the late Prince led away by a fond desire of being absolute, as not to consider that the Glory of the King and
the



the Royal Family consists in the Love of the People, and an entire Union between the King and them; which when it once comes to cease through a mutual distrust and hatred of each other, it follows of necessity that upon a breach, the most powerful must and will prevail: though this may be said for the *English*, that they have a natural inclination to their Monarch, and that a great matter will not alter their Allegiance; yet many and repeated Acts will alienate their affections, and at length cause such a Breach as is not to be reconciled.

For as it is most evident that the Lives and Liberties of the *English* People are secur'd by Law; so there is nothing so grievous to an *English* Commoner, as the breach of that Law. And besides they have such a veneration for the Protestant Religion establish'd by Law, and such a detestation of Popery, that there is nothing which they can less brook, than a violation of the one, and the Introducing of the other. These were

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therefore the foundations upon which their lawful Disgusts and Animosities were groundd. For it was apparent to all, that those who were most faithful to the Principles and Doctrine of the true Protestant Religion, and to the just establishd Legal Government, were in diverse kinds, and after several ways most miserably vex'd and oppress'd by the Popish Contrivances and Practises, cover'd over with the specious pretences and name of Authority.

Several things were also daily impos'd upon them in their several Stations and Places, which they were convinc'd in their Consciences could never be justified either to God or the Kingdom; and yet they were urg'd upon them without regard to their Consciences, by loss of their Offices and Employments, and many other threaten'd effects of the Kings displeasure.

The King had not observ'd any one point of his Royal Word and Promises set forth in his Declaration both to the Clergy and Laity: For

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notwithstanding he had solemnly engaged to secure the Protestant Religion, and to preserve to the People the enjoyment of their Franchises, their Liberties and Properties, nothing of all this was observ'd; as if he had design'd to absolve his Subjects from their Allegiance, by the continual breach of his own word. For most of the Protestants were press'd upon to declare for a Repeal of all the Laws made for the Reformation and securing their Religion, and the settlement of it.

The Subjects were forc'd to submit to serve and obey those that were no Lawful Judges, no legal Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace nor Mayors, nor Deputy Lieutenants, and all were threatned vex'd and prosecuted, that durst to say that they had no lawful Authority.

All the Subjects were commanded to suffer all the actions and offences of their Lives, and the secrets of their

Hearts to be search'd into, and their chief Interests; and many of their Freeholds to be judg'd by the discretion of a few of the King's Creatures, call'd his Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Affairs, whose Commission was to proceed without and against the Rules of the Laws of *England*, with a *non obstante* to all other Laws, and every man was required to assist their Arbitrary Power, upon Peril of their Censures, which extended to Imprisonment for Life.

All the Ministers were commanded under threats of heavy Penalties to be inflicted upon them, to proclaim in their several Churches and Congregations the Kings absolute power to suspend at once the force and use of all the Penal Laws made for these four hundred years past, to secure the Rights of the Crown, the Freedoms and Properties of the Realm, and the Profession of the Protestant Religion.

All the Protestants were constrain'd through dread of the Kings Displeasure, to suffer the Rights of the Crown
and

and Freedom of the Realm against Foreign Powers and Laws to be publicly violated, and the force of Foreign Laws over them to be publicly maintain'd. So that they were enjoin'd by the King to neglect their sworn Duties to God, to the Crown and Kingdom, of prosecuting at Law such Treasons as they knew and saw to be daily committed, for which no excuse could be made under pretence of Liberty of Conscience in Christ's Religion.

The Constables and other Officers throughout the Kingdom were compell'd to quarter *Irish* and *Scotch*, and other Mercenary Soldiers in the Houses of their Neighbours against their wills, in contempt of the Laws and several Statutes of late enacted.

The Gentlemen and Freeholders were press'd to renounce Native and Legal Freedom in their choice of Members for Parliament.

The Freemen of the several Cities and Towns Corporate of the Nation, were constrain'd to yield up to the

King's Will and Pleasure, the Tenure of their Magistracies, and all their free Customs and Priviledges. This produc'd a *Quo warranto* against the City of *London*, which gave an Alarm to the whole Realm, it being then plainly evident, that no manner of Right was secure. For from both the Written Law, and the Traditions of our Ancestors, we had learn'd, that Corporations were not forfeitable; besides that the manner of managing that Affair, gave much discontent. For first, it was well known that the whole Nation would follow the fate of *London*; and it was as plain that they resolv'd to have it, when they remov'd one Chief Justice who refus'd a concurrence, and put up another in his place, the meanness of whose extraction made him not regard futurities or airy things, but his own present enjoyment of a warm Place; and indeed it was but a present enjoyment, for when his opinion was delivered by another Judge, he became quite senseless, and so continu'd till he dy'd.

This

This, and the Power given to *Graham*, *Brent* and others, to put in, and put out in the several Cities and Corporations of the Nation, as they saw convenient, made the King Master of above two thirds of the *House of Commons*; for then were Charters taken away, or surrendred every where, and new ones granted with new fashioned Clauses in them, reserving Power to place or displace at pleasure, by which means the most sober and understanding Magistrates were removed. And this it was that laid the foundation for the methods put in practice by the Popish Successor; one of the most mischievous things that ever *Westminster-hall* was guilty of, wherein all that were concern'd, without all question deserve the true Title of Betrayers of the *English* Liberties.

Then as to the upholding or destruction of true *English* Parliaments, never was a more apparent Court-practice in prejudice of the People, then in the Case of Mr. *Papilion* and Mr. *Dubois*, when chosen Sheriffs for *London*; they
having

having upwards of two thousand seven hundred hands, when *North* had only an hundred and seven, and Mr. *Box* one thousand three hundred fifty three: the particulars of which are yet fresh in the memories of most men. One would have thought the usual and legal way of Plurality of Voices should have carry'd it. But what did they work? The continual solicitations of a Mayor, by a Treacherous Secretary: The compliance of some Court-ridden Aldermen: The behaviour of a Sword-bearer and Common Cryer, absolutely devoted to the then late Recorders Commands. Besides that, the actions of the Common Serjeant in that particular were very notorious; for which some of them had Pensions granted and pay'd by the Ministers of the Prince. The refusal to swear them Sheriffs according to the Law and Custom. The putting up a *North*, whose Brother was to be his Guide, and himself to be rewarded with a considerable Office; and this when a worthy Citizen,

Citizen, sensible of the sinister Practices in that Election, refus'd to act by vertue of it, but rather chose to pay his Fine, than to countenance such Innovations. This Violation of Rights and Priviledges of the City of *London*, gave disgust not only to a considerable number, but to the whole City and Nation; when it was apparent, that the design was to procure Juries, who would find Bills against any Popular Patriot of his COUNTRY, upon any pretence or surmise of being a Plotter, and consequently to awe Mankind into an intire submission to the Arbitrary Power of some great Men. And Wiser Heads saw the Intreague to reach farther then that; which was for the Court to have it under their Influence, that such men should be return'd in Parliament for the City, as they pleas'd themselves; which was in effect a fair step toward the subversion of the Government.

Nor would it avail for the Richest or most Populous Cities or Corporations in the Kingdom, to wage Law
with

with the Court ; for it was notorious that the Popish prevailing Party had their Judges ready fix'd to over-rule whatever Pleas the Towns or Cities could make in defence of their Rights. And such Judges as could not in conscience condescend to cancel such ancient Records of the former *English* Monarchs Immunities, Franchises and Favours, were presently displaced from their Seats ; while those other Judges that succeeded, being more easily poyson'd with the luster of Gain and Honour, made nothing of Illegal Sentences to comply with their Popish Patrons, to the Enslaving of their Native Country : while the Magistrates of all the Corporations of the Kingdom, were now become wholly dependant upon the Kings Pleasure.

Add to these breaches and violations of the Charters and Franchises of the Cities and Corporations of the Realm, the very Lives and Liberties of the People, laid open to the new encroachments of Arbitrary Power, in the terrifying and corruption of
Juries

Juries and Publick Verdicts; which the Parliament, when they could be permitted to sit, so highly resented, that they exhibited Articles against *Scrogs*, then Chief Justice, for discharging a Grand Jury before they had dispatch'd their business. And this was another cause of clamour and heart-burning among the People; exasperated by the effects and consequences of the corrupt and bias'd Verdicts of Packt and Partial Juries, cull'd and pick'd out on purpose to serve the Court ends. Such were the severe Fines that were set upon *Harrington*, *Harris* and *Brown*; of which the generality of the People were deeply sensible, and the sufferers themselves complain'd in Parliament too without Redress, because they were never permitted sufficient time to sit for redressing the Grievances of the Nation. After which, it happen'd that Sir *Samuel Bernardiston* and others, lay under the oppression of extravagant sums, impos'd upon them contrary to *Magna Charta's Salvo contentemento*, that is,

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14 *The History of the*

to say, saving to them their liveli-
hoods, sometimes Thirty Thousand
Pound, sometimes an Hundred Thou-
sand Pound. These things disgusted
all the Persons and Allies of the Per-
son so oppress'd, and drew compassi-
on from others not concern'd in the
Prosecution. These things made Peo-
ple fear it might be their own case,
and for that reason as well as for Hu-
manity sake, they made their Com-
plaint. Wise men lookt upon it as a
High strain and Trick in the Law to
inflict continual Imprisonment during
life, by a consequence where they
could not justifie it directly, and many
times for an idle word, let fall in a
heat, and perhaps fallly repeated and
as fallly sworn to.

Another odious consequence of
these corrupt and partial Verdicts,
was their Barbarous, Cruel and Inhu-
man Whippings of Persons through
the Streets; Punishments unheard of in
this Island, till invented by Whipping
Sir George; and these horrid hardships
without any remorse inflicted in so
cruel

cruel and detestable a manner, as to command a repetition of the same Penaltie within two or three days, after the suffering the first Torment, while the woful effects of the last Correction was yet fresh upon their Backs. And this upon Clergy men too, who can never be deemed Vagabonds and Slaves in a Nation where they have a liberal Education while young, and afterwards ought to have that reverence shew'd them which is due to their Function; an exemption which the Papists themselves, as cruel as they are to others, allow their Clergy. And this was another thing which stirr'd the blood of all true *English* Hearts; more especially since afterwards it becoming a Rul'd Case, that this new Punishment was proper for any misdemeanor, they might sentence any thing to be a Misdemeanor deserving such a Punishment, and consequently the best Commoner in *England* might fall under the Lash, as well as a Priest of the Church. Which puts me in mind of that Infamous Degradation of that
worthy

worthy Divine Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, brought without either Process or Libel by some of the Marshals Beagles into the presence of certain Gospel-Furioso's, and there devested of his Cassock and other Habits of his Order pull'd over his ears, and as far as they could do it, and besure they would have don't if they could, stript of the Holy Ghost, because a Set of Corrupt Judges had said he was a Libeller; all this without giving him an hours time to answer; which being done upon a Person of Greater Parts, Learning and Integrity than his pretended Judges, sounded so harsh in sober mens ears, that they themselves were afterwards so ashamed of their own Act, so fondly absurd and unjustifiable, that they refus'd to dispose of his Living, without Security to save them Harmless.

The Prosecution of Mr. *Pilkington*, was another High-strained Point of the Law, and the effect of a Pick't and Partial Jury; which being carried

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ried on with so much severity, for a word let drop about the Fire, re-kindled the Peoples Jealousies that the Papists were they who fir'd *London*, and this added to the secret Aversion of the Commons to the Duke of *York*.

Besides these things, The Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, a Magistrate of Eminent Repute, in so bloody and treacherous a Manner, the concealing his death; the Assassination of Mr. *Arnald*, by men of the same Profession, and the procuring of *Prance* to confess himself Perjur'd, together with their other Inventions to stifle the Plot, and other crimes which the Papists had committed, filled the minds of Men with fears of Massacres, and provok'd a hatred to the Persons of them who were like to commit them.

Nor was it less resented as an Affront put upon the Justice of the Nation, both in the Parliament, and Courts of Judicature, after their Opinion and Condemnation of the Plot and Plotters, as near as might be to Infallibility, to maintain a certain Bantering Scribler, call'd the *Observer*, cherished up by

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Pensions from Court, and New-years Gifts from other where; whose business it was to palliate Popery, to vilifie Parliaments, ridicule the best of Men, cry down the belief of the Popish Plot, and with all his might and main to advance the credit of the Sham-Plot put upon the Presbyterians; and upon occasion to raise a Faction, by new coined terms of distinction and reproach. This Employment of his gave offence to all men; it being thought a base and mean thing to countenance such a Mercenary, who abused others at his own pleasure, and even by Authority.

Then again, the suppressing and bantering the Earl of *Essex's* Murther, both in the Pulpit, upon the Bench, and at the Bar; this was in the number of those bad things which created ill Blood, and occasion'd great murmurings over all the Kingdom. More especially upon the punishment of a Gentleman, after he had been delivered up to the Mercy of his Prosecutors by a false Jury; for making a diligent enquiry after Blood, and tracing it almost home to the Murderers Doors.

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The same corruption of Juries produced those exorbitant Damages given upon *Scandalum Magnatum*, by which some men who were fined above their Estates, were utterly ruined, with their Families. Wherein the Judges and Juries acted with that Heat and Passion, for the Plaintiff Lords, against the Defendants, as if they had been acting as their Vassals, rather to save their own stakes than to do Justice. And thus, that which was by our Forefathers lookt upon as one of the main happinesses of this Nation, to be try'd by their Peers, and honest Men of the Vicinity, by the name of Juries, and was first invented to curb the disorders of corrupt Judges, and to preserve the Estates and Liberties from the encroaching Tyranny of Arbitrary and Lawless Power; was now turn'd to the ruin and destruction of many Innocent People, and become one of the chiefest Grievances of the Nation.

Then again, if we consider the daring Insolencies of the Papists, in a Kingdom where their Superstitions were so much abominated, and had been for so

many years Exterminated ; 'tis no wonder if the People seeing such an Inundation of Popery rowling in upon them, and to be in a ferment, finding no means unattempted to subject them again under the hated Bondage of *Rome*.

Thus besides the Publick Violences offered to the settled Constitutions of Cities and Corporations, the horrid corruptions of Judges and Juries, even the vertue and constancy of private persons was attacked, and endeavour'd to be shaken by the promis'd favours, and threatening awe of Majesty it self; while the Knack of *Closetting* was a new Invention, made use of, to make men prostitute their Voices for Elections, in compliance with the Popish designs; and none were deemed fit to hold Office and Employments, but such as would surrender up their own, and the freedoms of Others, to facilitate the Intreaties of Popery.

To which purpose also the Lord Lieutenants of the several Counties, and sort of strange Commissioners, no less odly instructed, were sent into the several Shires, to corrupt, if possible they

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could, both the Gentry and Commonally, to give their Voices, for Electing such Members, for a packt Parliament, as they knew would be most ready to annul the Penal Laws and Tests, the chiefest securities of our Established Religion, and the only agreeable, and probable means, to prevent the dangers and mischiefs threatned, by the pernicious Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome.

For by such ways and means as these, the Papists had laid their Designs to have blown up the Test and Penal Laws made against the Popish Priests and Jesuits; and Enacted Punishments and Forfeitures against all other sorts of Papists, actually busie against the Government, should have been abolish'd by a Packt Number of Men, Elected contrary to the Native Rights and Privileges of the Nation, under the pretended Name of a Parliament. That so the Papists being at their full Liberty might usurp what they pleas'd, without fear of being Troubl'd or Question'd for it, upon the Freedoms, Properties and Estates of the Protestants. For what

would the Laws of *England* have signified, if the Popes Canons should have been maintain'd to be above them. Nor did the People less disdain (in so much that the very Children and the Vulgar sort were affronted at it) to see Mass-Houses, and Convents of Monks not only tolerated, but openly upheld in defiance of the Law. And things were in a very short time carried to that height that there was no possibility of ever obtaining a Free Parliament, considering the averiness of the King even to Parliaments themselves; his former continual Practices to procure their Prorogations and Dissolutions, if they did not carry things to his Mind, and the present Alterations in the Cities and Corporations, the Persons of the Sheriffs and other Officers, all sitting for their purpose, or else in a readiness to be turned out: Considering also the condition of those whose Right it is to Elect, who lay under the unhappy circumstances of being depriv'd of their freedoms in Elections; and were dayly menac'd with the Kings displeasure, and made obnoxious to several other Inconveniencies

and

and losses of their Employments and Preferments, if they refus'd to accept of such persons, as had treacherously promis'd and undertaken to repeal the establish'd Law of the Kingdom against Papists; among whom it is a Maxim, That Protestants are not capable to claim any benefit or advantage of any Treaties, Oaths or Engagements made them by any Popish Prince.

For it is a thing which has been too frequently experienc'd in this Nation, that there is nothing so much dreaded by the Popish Party, as the frequent Assembling of Free Parliaments in *England*. And therefore it was that the King of *France*, who had taken up a Resolution, at his first coming to his Crown, to abolish the Protestant Religion, and root it out of the World, under the Name of the Northern Heresie, was so very Liberal to the late King, as to allow him a Pension of Five hundred thousand pounds a year, to keep off the meeting of Free Parliaments, or at least to Dissolve them, and render them useless when they did meet, as appears by Letters acknowledged by the late King,

to have been written by his own Order.

It has been also made manifest to the World, that all kinds of Devices and Artifices, which the Jesuits Councils could invent, were about the same years put in practice, to pervert the Faith and Religion of the United Provinces, or to betray them into the French King's Power, or at least to a dependance upon him.

And it was afterwards notorious to the World, that an Agreement was made between the French King and the late King of *England*, to subdue and divide those Provinces, that they might no longer be either a support or refuge for the Protestants. Besides, that the World has also seen the Effects of the French Kings Prosecution of the same Design, to defeat the Protestant Religion of all support, by his Pensions to the chief Ministers of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and to such as he could prevail upon in the Court of *Brandenburgh*, and in the Courts of all other Princes that adher'd to the Protestant Interest.

How.

However the chief of his Expence was upon the late King, his Ministers and Counsellors, who concurr'd in all the secret Practices and Contrivances to weaken the Power of the Protestants; and to suffer the Greatness, Glory, and Terror of the French King to be advanced. But he durst not openly and avowedly joyn with him in his great design against the Protestants, and their Religion, for fear of his Protestant Subjects; he having deluded them with so many solemn Protestations of his faithfulness to their Religion and Liberty.

Besides, the French King had found by experience, that the Parliament had prevail'd with the King of *England* to break all the measures which they had taken together, for the Destruction of the United Provinces, by engaging him to a separate Peace with Them, which had forc'd the French King to lower his Sails, and in a crafty way to seek and solicit a Truce: and therefore he durst not adventure, during the King's Life, to put his great Work in Execution, which he declares had been so long in his Heart; by Torments, Murders and
all

all manner of Barbarous Cruelties, to suppress the Professors and Profession of the Protestant Religion, and entirely to Race and Expunge the Memory of it, as his Edicts and Practices have since declar'd to be the Bottom of his Intentions.

But so soon as the King of *England*, had publickly espous'd the Popish Design, which indeed he had long Prosecuted before in the Dark; and until he had begun to invade the Protestant liberties and securities, by putting the Military Powers into Popish Hands; till he began to demand the Parliaments Consent to a Law, to authorize him, and to make his Papists, the Guardians of the Protestant Religion and Lives: Then the French King, knew that the People of *England*, were in no capacity to interpose in behalf of his Protestant Subjects; and then it was, that he sent his Dragoons to destroy the poor Protestants Goods, and to Torment their Bodies, with more Inhumanity then was ever practiz'd since the Creation.

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This secret Combination however, between the King of *England* and the French King, could not be so closely carried, but that being discover'd to the People by *Coleman's* Letters, and the observations of other Men, set the far more numerous Part of the Nation in a Flame; to see that the Person whom they had set up to be the Defender of their Faith, should go about to Destroy the Faith which they profess'd, and which he was Sworn to Defend; that it Alienated their Affections from him to that degree, that they could not think themselves bound any longer, by their Allegiance to obey the Person, who had first dissolv'd the Sacred Knot of their Preservation.

The Suppression and Extirpation of the Protestant Religion in *England*, had bin always esteem'd the principal Part of the Popish Design; and therefore all the Romish Policies, Councils and Industries, their Conspiracies to Poyson and Massacre, had bin long employed about it, and had perfectly gained the late King to serve their Designs. They had united him with
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the French King, to the end their conjoyn'd Councils, Treasure and strength might finish their work. It was by many ways Evident that both the Kings were under the same Conduct; and the King of *England* took the same Methods, which the French King had bin successful in to destroy the Protestants of his Kingdom. His First attempt was to subvert the Civil Government and Laws, and the Freedom and being of the English Parliaments, just as the French King first invaded the Supreme Legal Authority of *France*, which was vested in the assembly of Estates, from whom alone he now derives his Crown. The King of *England* in Imitation of his Brother of *France*, strove to bring all the Offices and Magistracy of the Kingdom, which were legally of the Peoples choice, to be solely and immediately depending upon his Will and Pleasure. He endeavour'd by various Artifices, to bring the disposal of all the Properties and Estates of the People and their Lives and Liberties to be at his Devotion, by perverting the
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the instituted Course of the Juries, and by Judges and a Chancellor, fit for that purpose, and every Moment depending upon his Will, he sought to make his Proclamations and Declarations, have as much Power over the Laws, as the French Kings Edicts: and after his example he Established a Mercenary Army, to master and subdue the People to his Will and Pleasure.

It was a Maxim among the Papists, That nothing could ruin the Catholic's in *England* but a Parliament. It was a Parliament could only deprive *Charles* the Second, of those Friends the Papists that were conceal'd very near him. It was a Parliament only that could revive the Prosecution of the Plot; or that could support the old Witnesses and encourage new ones to come in; and a Parliamentary enquiry could only compleat the discovery of a matter, wherein so many great, so many wealthy and powerful Persons were concern'd. And therefore the King of *France* was laboured withal, to lay his positive Commands upon his Ambassadors, and his other Friends

Friends in the English Court, never to harken to any Proposal of a Parliament, upon any pretence whatever; but to use all their Arts and Endeavours to prevent the Meeting of Parliaments.

The People were not Ignorant that Parliaments are a Part of the Frame of the Common Law; and that they were frequently to meet, for the Common peace, safety and benefit of this Nation, and support of the Government.

That they had been all along esteemed an essential part of the Government, as being the most Ancient, Honourable and Sovereign Court in the Nation; and therefore frequently to sit for the making and abolishing Laws, redressing of grievances, and looking after the due Administration of Justice: And therefore not to suffer Parliaments to sit, to answer the great ends for which they were instituted, was expressly contrary to the Common Law, and consequently to the Law of God and Nature; and that Violence thereby was offer'd to the Government it self; since the preventing and hindering their Sitting

ting, was an Infringement of the Peoples fundamental Rights and Liberties. And therefore that the People perceiving the imminent danger they were in, by the frequent Dissolutions of their Parliaments, recoyl'd from their subjection to a Prince, who sought nothing more then to subvert the ancient Foundations of their Common Safety and Security. And therefore it was that the People so highly resented the Punishment of such Persons, as did no more then humbly Petition for the Meeting and Sitting of their Parliaments, as being the only Glory and Happiness of the Nation; and they judging them to be Criminals who sign'd those Petitions, when it was both their Right and Duty so to do. Nor did they stomach less, the base method of procuring Abhorrencies, by wicked and unworthy Instruments, to serve the Ends of Popery, and advance the Encroachments of Arbitrary Power.

But another thing that gave distaste was the stifling of the Plot; in reference to which great notice was taken between *Scrogs*'s behaviour at *Wakeman's* and

and *Coleman's* Tryals. Nor could they forget the methods used for suppressing the Popish Plot ; what Tricks and Artifices were used to take off great Men, and to cool their Heat and Zeal ; what accounts were published of the Letters and other passages ; how they were curtailed, and many of the particulars omitted, and by whose Directions. These things caus'd great grumbling among the Commons, especially after two Parliaments had Voted the Truth of the Plot, and the whole Nation had given it's Faith to it ; and our Publick Services of God had affirm'd our belief of it. But the suddainness of the change caus'd Astonishment, to hear the same Tongue one Week cajoling, and the next huffing the Discoverers of those Treasons.

Then again, the setting up of Sham-Plots, to ensnare and ruin the soberest part of the Nation ; and for the better management of them, the suborning and preparing of Witnesses, at the Attorney-Generals Chamber, or in Prisons, or Goals, to Swear against Persons, the freest both in their Lives and Reputations, from the suspicions of such Crimes

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as were laid to their charge. The setting up of Witnesses of the basest Character for Birth, Education and Fortune, as the *Haines's*, *Sextons*, &c. And that there might be Juries proper for the Witnesses, the packing of Jurors, either Men of Dependance, or else manag'd and drunk into a Resolution of finding *pro Rege*, right or wrong; all was one, the word was *Guilty*. This frightened the People, and was a plain Invasion of all that the Subject could call his own: for no man was safe as long as such Practices lasted. For to say Truth, Jury Men can no ways excuse themselves, in regard they are upon their Oaths, and their own Souls lye at stake upon their Verdict. 'Tis not enough for them to say the Judge directed them: as if the insinuation, or confident direction of a Mercenary Lawyer, advanc'd to a Cushion by the assurance of his Service, could justify a false Verdict. For Juries are Judges of Fact, of Witnesses, of their Credit and Testimony, what and how far it goes; and of the Law resulting from thence so far, as if they doubt, to find the matter specially

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or otherwise; and no Judge can fine them for so doing. These considerations enrag'd the People against four sorts of Juries, *Cornishes, Russels, Sydneys*, and that upon the pretended *Rioters* at *Guild-Hall*. To which we may add the base solicitations of Grand Juries: It being a thing which did not a little disturb all sober honest Men, to see an Attorney General shuffling into a Grand Juries Room, in order to delude them into a breach of their Oaths by a false Presentment. Nor was it less odious to hear of a pack of Judges, Counsel and Solicitors with the Witnesses sent upon a Journey to procure a Jury to find Bills; and then the Judge, Counsel, Clerk, Solicitors, and all to go in and converse with the Jurors in their Debates, to solicit and secure the making Presentments as was desir'd; and immediately posting away an Express to *London*, to give intelligence of the success of their Labours; and after that one of the Counsel to be made Recorder of the Place, the other to be Solicitor General, the Judge advanc'd into a higher Station, and even the very Clerk

Clerk to be made a Secondary, and all this to reward the perversion of the Law.

This made every Man afraid one of another, and forc'd some considerable Patriots, tho satisfied of their own Integrity, yet being afraid of such Subornations, to bribe the State Ministers for their own Preservation; while others not so doing, fell according to their own fears, under the Claws of those cruel Oathmongers. And these things happening to Men of great Reputation for Parts, Honesty and Substance in the World, produc'd no small Effect in creating a general Dissatisfaction. The precipitated Execution of Sir *Thomas Armstrong*: The hurrying of an Alderman to the Gibbet: The haranging of a Learned Gentleman out of his Life: The Western Massacre, attended with all the Circumstances, of Treachery, Falseness, Injustice and Haughtiness. All these, with the Inventions of new fine Spun-Treasons, delicate and superfine Testimonies, had a share in preparing the minds of the People with ill thoughts towards their actual Governors; particularly in *Sidneys* Tryal, the slightness

of the Evidence, by the Comparison of Hands; the notion of one Circumstantial, Collateral Witness, and a Closet Publication. By reason of which, the Judges that approv'd them, the Counsel that invented and press'd them, & the Jurors that brought in their Verdict upon them, all incurr'd the hatred of the People.

Nor could the People forget the behaviour of the Motley sort of the Clergy, who sway'd by their own wants, and their hopes of Preferment, were wont to preach that Doctrine in the Name of the Lord, which, their *Guide*, the Observator publish'd in his own. In those days who ever strain'd highest for the Kings Prerogative, was first advanced, tho he crackt three or four of Gods Commandments to do it. The boldest stroaks always acquir'd the fattest Benefices; and a Dignity was the certain reward of a brisk Exhortation to Slavery. It made the word *Loyal* nauseous, in regard that for some years, you could not hear a word about Faith or Repentance; but instead of those old Puritanical Precepts, there succeeded the modest Doctrines of Passive Obedience,
and

and Non-resistance, which spoil'd more good Christians, then ever it made good Subjects.

As for the Popish Plot, the generality of the People were overjoy'd that so horri'd a Plot, as the Popish Conspiracy, against their establish'd Religion and Government, was discovered ; and so much the more, when they found themselves ascertain'd of the Truth of the Discovery by the Votes of two Parliaments, and the Condemnation and Execution of so many of the Convicted Malefactors. But after all this, when they found by the prevalency of the Duke of *York*, and his Popish party, who appear'd to be all no less concern'd in the Confederacy, that the Discoverers were not only discountenanc'd and discouraged, but slighted, abus'd and try'd for their Lives, upon Indictments of Sodomy and Perjury ; the Plot it self almost quite stifi'd and exterminated out of the belief of the World, by ridiculing Observators, and *Merry-Andrews*, and *Jack-Puddings*, of the same stamp; they could not but take it amiss to observe the Duke and his Popish Counsellors, so

predominant at Court, and that there was so little notice tak'n of the imminent danger that threatned their *Religion, Liberties* and *Lives*.

But when they found the Duke and his party invading all three at once, by the Treachery of Sham-Plots; and since they could not destroy them by Massacre, pursuing their ruin by Perjuries and Subornations, in form of Legal Trials. When they saw persons of Honor and Quality, the true Patriots of their Religion and Country, and the chief opposers of Popery and Tyranny swept into their Graves, by the false Oaths of the vilest Miscreants in the World, and others of more inferior quality daily executed, to uphold the credit of a Sham-Plot, contriv'd and set on foot by the Papists, to undermine and annihilate the credit of the real Popish Plot: Then they beheld, with open Eyes, the grand design of the Papists to cut off, by that wicked, unmerciful and ungodly contrivance, all the chief Nobility and Gentry of *England*, that stood in the way of Popery and Arbitrary Dominion. And finding this, moreover,
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carried on by the Authority of the Duke of York; they highly applauded the resolutions of the Commons of *England* for framing a Bill to exclude him from the Crown.

For the People could not be insensible, that the Romish Principles are such, that they value neither their Words, Promises, Vows, Oaths nor Sacraments, but that all their strongest engagements are lighter than the very breath that utters them. That they consult so little either their Reputation, or their Glory, that there is not the most abject thing, that even Crowned Heads themselves shall not undertake, when *Rome* or the interest of *Rome* commands them. And that for a Prince to put all the Barbarity of the Jesuits in execution, is so highly meritorious in the Romish Church, that the Pope will undoubtedly assign such a Prince no common Diadem in Paradise for such an undertaking.

They were not ignorant that if a Papist once came to Reign, all the Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and all Judiciary Officers would be of his Creation. And then the Influence of preferment

on Men of mean and base Conditions
cull'd out for a Popish Prince's purpose,
might easily prevail to deprave the very
Throne of Justice it self, and make the Jud-
ges use even the Protestant Laws them-
selves, to open the first Gate to Slavery.

In a word, they knew that a Prince
having put himself and his Dominions
under the Popes Supremacy, and ad-
mitted, as unavoidably he must at length
do, the Laws and Decrees of the Romish
Church, all his Protestant Subjects, as
Hereticks, lyè under the Penalties which
those Laws and Constitutions have in-
flicted upon Hereicks.

They are excluded from all Councils,
and consequently from Parliaments,
neither capable of Electing nor being
chosen; neither can they exercise any
Jurisdiction either Spiritual or Civil;
All their Properties are liable to Con-
fiscation, together with the Portions of
their Children: so that upon the ad-
mitting of a Popish Successor, and con-
sequently of Papacy, all Title and Pro-
perty is lost and extinct among the Pro-
testants, by the Law which will be then
in force.

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This awakened the Nation out of that Lethargy which for so many Years had bound up its Senses, and depriv'd it of all feeling and perception. And therefore it was that the House of Commons not only Voted, that the Duke of *York* being a Papist, had given the greatest Countenance to the present Designs and Conspiracies of the Papists against the King, and Protestant Religion; but also brought in a Bill disabling him to Inherit the Imperial Crown of *England*.

The Parliament well knew that the Papists had done the like before in precluding *Henry IV.* from enjoying the Crown of *France* till he had renounc'd his Religion.

They knew as well, that no Papist ever since the Reformation succeeded to supream Authority over a Protestant Country, but he both endeavored to Subvert the Religion which he found Establish'd, and pursued his Subjects with most outrageous Cruelties.

Nor were they Ignorant that no anteceding Promises, made by Popish Princes upon their assumption to Rule
over

over Popish Countries, have been any security to those that rely'd upon them, or any confinement to those that made them.

For these Reasons, and observing also that other Neighbouring Nations, professing the true Protestant Religion, having found that by submitting to Reign over them, they had betray'd themselves to lose all that was dear unto them, took not only care to relieve themselves from the Violence and Treacherous Attempts of their Regnant Popish King, but the Parliament took care to prevent any such disasters, by making provision, to debar the Duke of *York*, being of Roman Principles, from being capable to pretend to the Throne.

The case in short stood thus, most applicable at this present conjuncture. *Sigismund* the Swede, who had before been chosen King of *Poland*, was as next Heir to the deceased King of *Sweden*, admitted to the Throne of that Kingdom; but upon previous conditions, that he should not infringe their Liberties as to Religion, nor introduce Popery

Popery which they had banish'd out of their Kingdom. Now this Prince having contrary to all Stipulations endeavour'd to overthrow their Religion, and to break in upon their Civil Rights, the *Swedes* like a generous People that would expose themselves to all Hazards, rather than give up their legal Rights, and Sacrifice their Consciences to the Will and Pleasure of their Prince, Commenc'd a War against Him, under the Command of his Uncle *Charles*, whom they chose to be their Protector. In which War being Victors, they not only depos'd him, but made a Law, That no Papist should at any time after that be trusted with the Scepter. And how far this Law conduc'd to their preservation afterwards, was observ'd by all the World, upon Queen *Christina's* resigning the Kingdom, before she embraced the Catholic Religion; she well knowing that she could not declare her self a Papist, and at the same time remain Queen of *Swedeland*.

The People therefore finding those suspicions, which the Parliament then had

had of the Duke, matured into real Truths in his succeeding Government, were the more easily induced, to desert him *Acting*, whom the Commons before had absolutely set a side while he was only *designing*.

For now let us come to his Actions after he came to the Throne ; and they will be found altogether agreeable to the Observations that were made of him, while he was a Subject.

It was observed that while he was subject to the Law , he had so industriously pursued the subversion of the Protestant Religion, which was Establish'd and secur'd by it, that it was easie to judge what he would do, so soon as he should be so stat'd, as that according to a Fundamental Maxim of our Law, He could do no wrong. They that took a view of his private Friends, when he was in the rank of a Subject , might easily guess what his publick Ministers would be, were he once arriv'd to the dignity of a King. There were few men of any observation about the Town, but took notice, that both his

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Court at St. James's, and his Train in the Park, used chiefly to consist of such whose Hands had formerly been deep in the Blood of the Protestants, or who were the Genuine Offspring of such. And how far he would be from overthrowing the Religion, and trampling upon the Laws of the Kingdom, when once his Temples were encircl'd with the Imperial Crown, might in some degree be learnt from the Arbitrary Counsels, which he had been observ'd to give, and the Plots against our Religion which he influenc'd and gave countenance to.

So soon as the Duke of York was advanc'd to the Crown, he set forth a Declaration, wherein he solemnly declared, *That there was nothing so much his earnest desire, as to establish his Government, on such a Foundation, as might make his Subjects happy, and unite them to him as well by Inclination as Duty. Which he thought could be done by no means so effectually, as by granting to them the exercise of their Religion for the time to come; and adding that to the perfect enjoyment of their Property, which had never been in*
any

any case invaded by him since his coming to the Crown. Which being the two things men valu'd most should ever be preserv'd in these Kingdoms, while he reign'd over them, as the truest methods of their Peace and his Glory.

Further also he declared, *That he would protect and maintain the Archbishops, Bishops and Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of England, in the free exercise of their Religion, as by Law establish'd, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of all their Possessions, without any molestation or disturbance whatsoever.*

And to remove all fears and jealousies from the minds of his loving Subjects, in relation to Liberty and Property, He further declared, *That he would maintain them in all their Properties and Possessions, as well of Church and Abby Lands, as in any other their Lands and Properties whatsoever.*

These words were at first believ'd, as coming from the Lips of a Prince; but they soon found the effects of violent Councils, quite contrary to these Royal Engagements and solemn Promises.

For

For not long after He was settl'd in his Government, Sir George Jefferies being made Lord Chancellor, an Ecclesiastical Commission was issued forth to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Treasurer *Hide*, Lord *Sunderland*, Bishop of *Durham*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, or any three or more of them, whereof the Lord Chancellor to be always one, to exerciſe and execute, under the King, all manner of Jurifdictions and Pre-eminencies, touching or concerning any Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Jurifdictions, within the Realm of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, to Viſit, Reform, Redreſs and Amend all Abuſes, Offences, Contempts and Enormities whatever; which by the Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm might be lawfully Corrected, Redreſs'd and Amended; Empowring, Authorizing and Appointing them, by Vertue of his Prerogative Royal, to execute the Premises according to the effect and Tenor of the Commission. As alſo to enquire of all Offences, Contempts and Miſdemeanors, committed or hereafter to be committed in any County

County, City, Borough, or other place exempt or not exempted, and the Offenders to correct and punish by censure of the Church. Also to search for, and call before them, all Ecclesiastical Persons, of what Degree or Dignity soever; and to punish the Offenders by Depriving and Suspending them from all Promotions Ecclesiastical, and all Functions in the Church. And for such as should be obstinate or disobedient, to punish them by Excommunication, Suspension, Deprivation, or other Ecclesiastical censure. And further, to send for all Statutes, Rules, Ordinances, Letters Patents, and Writings belonging to the Universities, Cathedrals, Collegiate-Churches, Colledges, and Grammar-Schools, and all other Ecclesiastical Corporations, concerning their Erections and Foundations; and upon examination of the said Statutes, the same to Correct, Amend and Alter, and to devise and set down such Orders and Statutes as they should think meet and convenient, to be ratified and confirmed by the King. And lastly, to execute the Commission, and every Branch and

and part of it, notwithstanding any Appellation, Provocation, Privilege or Exemption whatever.

The Lord Chancellor well knew with how much indignation, oppression and illegality of it, the High Commission Court had been voted down, and taken away, by Act of Parliament, in the Reign of *Charles* the I. But he that was resolv'd to boggle at nothing that might sustain his Grandeur, by rendring him acceptable to a Prince, designing Arbitrary Rule, as he had been one of the chief advisers of this lawless Commission, resolv'd to go through stich. And it was apparent that he was the chief Wheel to set this Machin agoing, since there was nothing to be done without him: He was the chief Man of Trust, in regard that who ever was absent of the Commissioners, he must be sure to be one.

Thus then this Arbitrary and Lawless foundation of (once already by Law abolish'd) Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction being laid, *Dr. Sharp*, the Minister of *St. Giles's in the Fields* was pitch'd upon, and accus'd for preaching Sedition a-

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gainst the Government. The Information was no sooner given to the Court, but the King sent a Letter to the Bishop of London in these words.

Right Reverend Father in God,
 We greet You well. We have been inform'd, and are fully satisfi'd, that Dr. John Sharp, Rector of the Parish Church of St. Giles's in the Fields, in the County of Middlesex, and in your Diocess, notwithstanding Our late Letter to the most Reverend Fathers in God, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Our Directions concerning Preachers, given at Our Court at Whitehal the 15 of March 1685. in the Second year of our Reign; yet he the said John Sharp, in contempt of the said Orders, has in some of the Sermons he hath since preach'd, presum'd to make unbecoming Reflections, and to utter such expressions as were not fit nor proper for him.

endeavouring thereby to beget in the minds of his hearers an evil Opinion of Us and Our Government, by insinuating fears and jealousies, to dispose them to discontent, and to lead them into Disobedience and Rebellion. These are therefore to require and command You, upon receipt hereof, forthwith to suspend him from further preaching in any Parish, Church or Chappel, within Your Diocese, until he hath given Us satisfaction, and Our further Pleasure be known herein. And for so doing this shall be Your Warrant. And so we bid you Heartily farewell. Given from Our Court at Windsor the 14 of June 1686. in the Second year of Our Reign.

To this the Bishop of London return'd the following Answer, directed to the Earl of Sunderland, then at Windsor, and sent it by Dr. Sharp, who could obtain no Answer.

My Lord,

I Always have and shall accompt it
my Duty to obey the King, in what
ever Commands he lays upon me, that
I can perform with a safe Conscience.
But in this, I humbly conceive, that
am oblig'd to proceed according to Law
and therefore it is impossible for me to
comply: Because, tho' his Majesty com-
mands me only to execute his pleasure
yet in the capacity I am, I must act as
a Judge; and your Lordship knows no
Judge condemns any Man before he has
knowledge of the Cause and has cited
the Party. However I sent to Mr
Dean, and acquainted him with his
Majesties Displeasure; whom I find
ready to give all reasonable satisfaction
that I thought fit to make him the Bearer
of this Answer, from him that will
never be unfaithful to the King, nor
otherwise then Your Lordships most
humble Servant.

Hen. London

But this Letter proving ineffectual, the next day but one, Dr. *Sharp* carri'd a Petition to the King, which he would fain have presented, but that no such favour would be permitted. Which Petition was as follows,

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty, the Humble Petition of
John Sharp, Clerk,

Sheweth,

THAT nothing is so Afflictive to your Petitioner, as his unhappiness to have incurr'd your Majesties displeasure; which he is so sensible of, that ever since Your Majesty was pleas'd to give notice of it, he has forborn all publick exercise of his Function, and still continues so to do.

Your Petitioner can with great sincerity affirm, that ever since Your Petitioner has been a Preacher; he has faithfully endeavoured to do the best service he could, in his Place and Station, as well to the late King, Your Royal Brother, as Your Majesty, both by preaching and otherwise.

And so far he has always been from venturing any thing in the Pulpit tending to Sedition or Faction, or any way to the Disturbance of Your Majesties Government; that he has upon all occasions in his Sermons, to the utmost of his Power, set himself against all sorts of Doctrine and Principles that look that way. And this he is so well assur'd of, that he cannot but apprehend that his Sermons have been very much misrepresented to Your Majesty.

But if in any Sermon of his, any words or expressions may have unwarily slip't from him, that have been capable of such Constructions, as to give Your Majesty cause of Offence, as he solemnly professes he had no ill intention in those words or expressions, so he is very sorry for them, and resolves for the future, to be so careful in the discharge of his Duty, that Your Majesty shall have reason to believe him to be Your most faithful Subject.

And therefore he humbly prays, that Your Majesty, out of Your Royal Grace and Clemency, would be pleas'd to lay aside the Displeasure you have conceived against Your Humble Petitioner, and restore him to that favour which

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*the rest of the Clergy enjoy under
Your Majesties Government.*

But what Kindness could the Doctor expect from a Prince, whose Favours were all under his Jesuits Lock and Key? A Protestant Divine was not to expect any favour at *Windsor* or *Whitehall* either, so long as *Peters* had any prevalency there. Nor was the Fury of the Commission so much levell'd at him, as against the Bishop of *London*, for whom there was Revenge laid up in store, that now must vent it self. The Ghostly Fathers at *Windsor* were more for silencing the Bishop then the Doctor. And therefore my Lord Bishop of *London* must be summon'd before the New Commissioners, whose power was irresistible at that time; to whom upon his appearing, the Lord Chancellor, according to his usual huffing way, put the Question roundly, and in short, (the Bishop of *Durham*, Lord Treasurer, Bishop of *Rochester*, Lord President, and Lord Chief Justice *Herbert* assisting) *What was the reason he did not suspend Dr. Sharp, when the King commanded, and sent him*

express order so to do, and told him it was for preaching Seditiously and against the Government?

The Lord Bishop of *London* acknowledged that he had receiv'd such an Order, and if what was done in that affair was done amiss, and contrary to his Duty, it was his Ignorance and inadvertency, not a wilful Fault; and if in that particular he had not comply'd, it was because those that understood those proceedings more perfectly, told him he could not: and then, in regard he knew not what would be laid to his charge, desir'd a Copy of the Commission, and of his Charge, and time to answer. The Chancellor desir'd his Lordship to explain his Meaning, for if by desiring a Copy of the Commission he design'd to quarrel with the Jurisdiction of the Court, he knew what to say. Till then his Answer was, That no Copy of the Commission could be granted; and that it was unreasonable to desire it since it was upon Record, and all the Coffee-Houses in the Town had it for a Penny a piece; and that he doubted not but that his Lordship had seen it.

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My Lord answered, that he nere had seen it, nor intended to dispute the Legality of it. But in regard it was a thing altogether new to this Generation, there might be something found in it, whereby he might be instructed in his Answer; and therefore since he might not have a Copy of it, his Lordship desired he might either read it, or hear it read.

To this the Chancellor replied, *He could not grant it of himself, but must ask the Lords Commissioners Judgment.* Upon which the Bishop withdrew for a quarter of an Hour, and then returning, the Chancellor told him his Request could not be granted; *For that the Court had something else to do then to gratifie every one that should desire a sight of their Commission: and therefore the Question was short, why he did not obey the King?*

To which his Lordship replied, that the Question was short, but required more words to answer it. *He desir'd the Commissioners to consider that he was a Bishop, a Peer, and had a Publick trust; and then supposing there were no Appeals from the Court, insisted upon time to make*
his

his Defence, and with much ado obtain'd a Week. Upon the day prefix'd, his Lordship appeared again, together with his Nephew the Earl of Northampton, his Brother in Law Sir John Nicholas, and his Brother Sir Francis Compton: The same Commissioners being present, the Bishop then told the Commissioners, *he had other reasons why he desir'd a sight of the Commission; for that perhaps it might not reach him, being a Peer and a Bishop; and perhaps not reach his particular Case, and desir'd longer time.* Upon which being order'd to withdraw, he withdrew for a quarter of an Hour, and then obtain'd a Fortnights time longer; which being expired, his Lordship appeared again, and then gave the Commissioners to understand, That his Counsel had inform'd him that their proceedings were directly contrary to the Statute Law, and desir'd they might be heard. But that would not be admitted, the Chancellor telling his Lordship, that the Commissioners were sufficiently satisfi'd of the Legality of their Commission.

Upon

Upon which his Lordship challeng'd the right of all Christian Bishops, as he was a Bishop of the Church of *England*, to be try'd by his Metropolitan and Suffragans.

To which the Chancellor reply'd, That his Lordship knew their proceedings were according to what had formerly been done; That they had an Original Jurisdiction; and therefore that he did but still question the Court.

His Lordship then further urg'd, That he conceived their Commission did not extend to the crimes lay'd to his Charge, in regard they were to censure Faults that were committed, and that his Lordship was accused of, was before the Commission.

In answer to which the Chancellor acknowledged, that indeed there was such a Clause; But that there were general Clauses that took in things past, as well as those that were to come.

Upon which his Lordship, protesting in his own Right to the Laws of the Realm, as a Subject, and the Rights and Priviledges of the Church as a Bishop, submitted to give in his Answer;
Which

Which was accepted ; And then the Bishop withdrew, and left Dr. *Sharps* Petition which the King had refused to accept. But the Chancellor, after the Court had read it, desir'd his Lordship to take it again, in regard they were not concern'd in it. And then asked his Lordship whither he would have his Answer read. To which his Lordship submitted. But told the Court withall, That what he had done was by the Advice of the learned in the Law; and hop'd that what he had done by advice of Counsel, should not be interpreted as done Malitiously or obstinately. That the Law was, that if a Prince required a Judge to execute an Order not agreeable to the Law, he should *Rescribere & Reclamare Principi*, Which he had done by writing back to the Lord President, and acquainting him, That an Order to suspend before Citation and hearing the person, was against Law, and therefore that he expected his farther pleasure. That in the next place he had done in effect what the King commanded, in advising Dr. *Sharp* to forbear preaching, till the
King

King had receiv'd satisfaction concerning him, and that the Doctor had forborn Preaching accordingly. After which the King's Letter and the Bishops Answer were read, and the Chancellor desir'd to know what he had further to say? To which his Lordship reply'd, that his Counsel might be heard.

Upon this His Lordship was desir'd to withdraw, and after half an Hour He and his Council were call'd in, Dr. *Oldis*, *Hodges*, *Price* and *Newton*.

Who all asserted by Law, That the Bishop had done as much as the Law could justifie him, and that for him to have done more would have been contrary to Law: Besides, that in doing what he did, in advising Dr. *Sharp* to forbear preaching, he had done in effect what the King had commanded him to do.

After the Counsel had been heard, the Bishop withdrew for half an Hour, and then being call'd in, was ordred to appear again upon a day prefix'd. At what time his Lordship making his appearance, the Chancellor told him that he was then to hear his Sentence, which

to

to prevent mistake, the Court had order'd to be put in writing. Which said, the following Instrument was by order of the Commissioners read by Mr. *Bridgeman*, Register to the Court.

By His Majesties Command for
Ecclesiastical Affairs.

WHereas Henry Lord Bishop of London, has been conven'd before Us, for his Disobedience, and other his Contempts mention'd in the proceedings of this Cause; and the said Bishop being fully heard thereupon, We have thought fit, upon due consideration of the matter, to proceed to this our definitive Sentence, declaring, decreeing and pronouncing, That the said Henry, Lord Bishop of London, shall for his said Disobedience and Contempt be suspended during his Majesties pleasure. And accordingly

ingly we do by these Presents, suspend him the said Lord Bishop of London, Peremptorily admonishing him, and requiring him hereby, to abstain from the Function and Execution of his Episcopal Office, and from all Episcopal and other Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, during the said Suspension, upon pain of Deprivation and Removal from his Bishoprick.

Sign'd by no body at all.

Some days after one of the Messengers attending the Court, deliver'd to the Dean of *Pauls* a Warrant, the Tenor whereof was as follows.

WHereas we have given Sentence of Suspension against Henry Lord Bishop of London, a Copy of which under our Seal, is hereunto affixed, We have thought fit, and do hereby require You, to cause the said Sentence to be affix'd on the Door of the Chapter-House, and on the place now call'd the South Door of the Church

Church, to the end that publick notice may be taken of the said Suspension. And you are to certifie us under your common Seal of the due Execution of what is hereby required.

This was Seal'd with the same Seal, but sign'd with no Names, no more than the Sentence of Suspension.

And thus was the Bishop of *London*, a Person no less eminent for the Nobility of his Family, then conspicuous for his high Degree in the Church of *England*, and equally remarkable for his true Protestant Piety and Devotion, suspended from his Episcopal Function by virtue of an Arbitrary Popish Commission, put into the hands of Protestant Commissioners, of which the Chancellor was still to be one for the extirpation of Popery by suspending a Protestant Bishop from the exercise of his Function.

These violent proceedings against so good a Man as the Bishop of *London*, and so eminent a support and honour of the Protestant Religion, multiplied the Score of the Peoples Resentments, and gave them just cause to look about them,
and

and to have a disgust against all persons, of what degree soever, that procur'd and countenanc'd such Incroachments upon the Laws both Ecclesiastical and Civil, and that should set up such a piece of Illegality, to triumph over Church and State, as was this Lawless Court. And that it was illegal, the Erectors themselves made it Apparent, from the causes and juncture of the Time that forc'd them to cancel their Commission, dissolve their Court, and restore the very Person whom they had so unjustly injur'd, by an Arbitrary and Popish Suspension. So clear it was that the Promises in the Declaration were little regarded, and that if the Redress from Heaven had not been speedy, the Jesuits and their Protestant Tools would have made quick work with all the rest of the Reformed Clergy in *England*, notwithstanding the gilded Promises of the Declaration.

And this nimbleness of theirs produced another National Grievance, and occasion of Publick Heart-burning. For the Presidentship of *Magdalen College* being void by the Death of *Dr. Clark*;

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there

there was a Person ready provided at Court to be popt into his room, and a quarrel presently design'd against the Fellows, to make him way, which was usher'd in and thus manag'd.

The Vice President, upon the Death of the President, as already has been said, in order to a new Election, according to the Statutes of the College, caus'd a Citation to be fix'd upon the Chappel door of the said College, signifying the Vacancy, Time and Place of the Election. But before the day of Election came, being credibly inform'd that the King had granted his Letters Mandatory in behalf of one Mr. *Anthony Farmer*; the Fellows by a Petition humbly represented to the King that Mr. *Farmer* was incapable of being President by their Statutes, and therefore humbly besought the King to leave them to a Free Election, or to recommend some other Person that was capable. But the Petition being rejected, soon after the Letters Mandatory arriv'd, and were deliver'd by Mr. *Charnock* to the Vice-President and the rest of the Fellows, requiring them forthwith to Elect the

the said Mr. *Farmer*, and admit him President. Upon which the Fellows all agreed, in consideration that Mr. *Farmer* was not Qualified, and that such as should be absent from the Election were in danger of Expulsion, and for that the Time of Election was so near, to defer their Answer till the day appointed for Election. At what time being met in the Morning, the Vice-President read the Statute relating to the Election of the President, together with the Statute of the 5. of *Eliz.* against undue Elections, and after that the Kings Letter in behalf of Mr. *Farmer*. Upon all which the Fellows made Answer, *That since they had a Petition then lying before his Majesty, they ought not to proceed to Election till they had receiv'd the King's Pleasure*; and thereupon they all agreed (except Mr. *Charnock*) to defer the Election till the next Morning save one. At what time the Fellows being met, Dr. *Smith*, and C. *Bagshaw*, two of the Fellows, acquainted the rest from the Lord President of the Council, *That in Answer to the Petition the King had sent a Letter to the College and expected to be*
F 2 *obey'd.*

obey'd. After which the Vice-President read the Kings Letter again, and ask'd them *Whether in Obedience to it they would Elect Mr. Farmer?* To which their Answer was, *That they desired to proceed to an Election.* Then the Vice-President propos'd, *Whether they would proceed by Election or by Scrutiny.* Dr. *Fairfax*, Mr. *Thomson*, and Mr. *Charnock*, were for proceeding *Viva Voce*: all the rest, for Election by Scrutiny: and so after the usual Ceremonies, Mr. *Hough* being at length duly chosen, according to the Statutes, was pronounced President of *St. Mary Magdalens College in Oxford*, and Mr. *Maynard* appointed to present him to the Visitor for his admission. After which Mr. *Thomson* and *Charnock* declared *Viva Voce* for Mr. *Farmer*, according to the Kings Letters. The next day Mr. *Hough* being presented to the Visitor, was sworn and admitted President by his Lordship, according to the Statutes, and afterwards taking the same Oath, at his return, before the Society, took his Seat in the Chapel as President.

The *Mandamus* it self ran Thus,

JAMES

JAMES Rex,

TRusty and well-beloved, We greet You well. Whereas we are well satisfied of the Piety, Loyalty and Learning of Our Trusty and well-beloved Anthony Farmer, of that your College of St. Mary Magdalen, We have thought fit hereby effectively to recommend him to you for the Place of President of Our said College, now void by the death of Dr. Clark, late President thereof, Willing and Requiring you forthwith upon receipt hereof to Elect and Admit him, the said Anthony Farmer into the said Place of President, with all and singular the Rights, Privileges, Emoluments and Advantages thereunto belonging, any Statute, Custom or Constitution, to the contrary notwithstanding, wherewith we are graciously pleased to dispense with in this behalf. And so not doubting of your Compliance herein, We bid you farewell.

The Petition of the Fellows, preceding this was short, in these words.

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty,
The Humble Petition of the Vice-President,
and Fellows of St. Mary Magdalens College in Oxon.

Most humbly sheweth,

WE have been credibly inform'd, that Mr. Anthony Farmer, who was not of Our Foundation, has obtain'd Your most Excellent Majesties recommendation to be President of Your Majesties College in the room of Dr. Hen. Clark deceas'd.

We therefore with all submission, as becomes Your Majesties most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, most humbly represent to Your Sacred Majesty, that the said Mr. Farmer is a Person, in several respects, incapable of the Character, according to the Founders Statutes, and do most humbly beseech Your Majesty, as Your Majesty shall judge fittest in Your Princely Wisdom, either to leave us to discharge our Duty and Conscience, according to your late most Gracious Toleration, or our Founders Statutes; or to recommend such a person as may be more serviceable to Your Majesty, and to this Your Majesties College.

In

In Answer to which this Letter was sent down by the Lord *Sunderland*.

Gentlemen,

THE King being given to understand, That notwithstanding his late Mandate, sent you, for Electing Mr. Farmer to be President of your College, you have made Choice of another Person; His Majesty commands me to tell you, he is much surpriz'd at these Proceedings, and expects you should send me an Accompt of what pass'd on that Occasion, and whither you did receive his Majesties said Letters Mandate, before you chose Mr. Hough.

In Answer to this, the Fellows laid before his Lordship the Qualifications which the Statutes requir'd in a President, and their humble belief that His Majesty had been misinform'd of the Character and Capacity of Mr. Farmer, upon which they had proceeded according to the Statutes and Methods of the College to the Election of another; and that tho the King dispens'd with all those Statutes, yet that they were bound by their Oaths not to procure, accept

or make use of any such Dispensation, by what Authority soever granted ; and that therefore nothing could more deeply grieve them, then to find themselves reduc'd to such an unfortunate necessity, as either to Disobey the King's Will, or violate their Consciences by notorious Perjuries.

Nevertheless, because they would not omit any means to appease the Kings Displeasure, they wrote to the Duke of *Ormond*, then Chancellor of the University, to interpose for them with the King, that they might not lye under the weight of his Displeasure, for not being in a capacity of obeying his Commands.

The Bishop of *Winchester* also, as Visitor of the College, wrote to the Earl of *Sunderland*, to inform his Lordship, that Mr. *Farmer* was neither then, nor at any time before, a Fellow of the College; and that therefore it was directly contrary to the Statutes of the Founder for him to be President.

But the Promoters of Mr. *Farmers* Interest, were not ignorant of the Thing, and therefore it was apparent that the Thing

Thing was design'd, to out the Protestant Fellows out of a warm College, for the conveniency of the wanting Papists, who were worming their Heads first into that College, that they might afterwards get their whole Bodies into the Univerſity.

To that purpose, the next thing the Fellows heard of, was a Citation by his Majesties Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Affairs, (of which the Lord Chancellor to be one) to appear at *Whitehall*.

Upon their appearance, the Question was put in short, *Why they did not obey His Majesties Letter, requiring them to Elect and admit Mr. Anthony Farmer to be President of the said College?*

To which the Vice-President and Fellows in a short time gave in their Answer, much to the same effect with the accompt of their proceedings demanded by the Earl of *Sunderlands* Letter, only with an addition of some particulars drawn from the debauchery of Mr. *Farmers* Life and Conversation: more especially of his ill behaviour in *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, where he received Admonition from the Master of the College

College in order to his Expulsion. That he taught School at *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*, under a Nonconformist, without Licence. That being enter'd into *Magdalen* Hall in *Oxford*, such frequent complaints were brought against him, to the Principal, for his troublesom humor and unquiet temper, that to preserve the peace of the Society, he was desir'd to leave the said Hall. That upon his leaving *Magdalen* Hall he was admitted into *Magdalen* College, where discoursing about Religion, he declar'd, *That there was no Protestant but would cut the Kings Throat*. Nevertheless, That whatsoever he pretended, he was really of the Church of *England*, and that he only made his Interest with some Roman Catholics to get preferment. That when the Kings Letter came to the College, in his behalf, he was at *Abington* in very ill Company, where he continued drinking, to excess, for two or three Nights together; and among the rest of his Disorders, was one of those who, then in the night time, threw the Town-Stocks into the River; conscious, it seems, of what he deserv'd. For confirmation

firmation of which, and several other
Misdemeanors, they produc'd the at-
testations of several Persons under their
Hands.

But all these Arguments of Right and
Property so solemnly promis'd to be
maintain'd and supported, in the De-
claration, signified nothing against a *sic*
volo sic jubeo; and therefore these Gen-
tlemen, with all their Reasons, must
come under the lash of the great Whip-
ster General of *England*. So that by an
Order under *Our Seal* (as the term was)
Mr. *John Hough* was by the Commissio-
ners pronounc'd unduly elected, by ver-
tue of the *Royal Non obstante*, and for
that unreasonable Reason it was De-
creed, That he should be remov'd from
his Presidentship: and Dr. *Aldworth*,
and Dr. *Fairfax*, because they had more
care of their Consciences in committing
Perjury, than the *Always One to be* in
the Commission, and the mortal Ene-
my of Dr. *Otes's* and *Dangerfields* Per-
juries, as he was pleas'd to call them,
were by a Decree under the same Seal
suspended from their Fellowships.

And

And for a further snare to entangle the rest of the Fellows, an Inhibition was easily procur'd from the King, That no Election or Admission should be made of any Person or Persons whatsoever, into any Fellowship, Demy-ship, or other Place or Office of the said College, till he signified his Pleasure, any Statute, Constitution, or Custom, to the contrary notwithstanding.

In the mean time *Farmer* seems to have been laid aside for his Debauchery, and therefore a new device must be found out to trick the rest of the Fellows: *Sam. Oxon.* the Bishop, that special stick of Wood, is pitch'd upon to be recommended to the President-ship; a Person who tho' little inferior to *Farmer* in Vice, yet it was thought his Superiority in undeserved Dignity would cover his blemishes. To which Purpose another *Mandamus* is sent from Court, requiring the remaining Fellows to admit the right Reverend Father in God, into the Place of President. Upon which the Bishop sent his Letter to the Senior Fellow of the College, requesting that he might be admitted accordingly.

But

But this being the same thing as to have admitted *Farmer*, in reference to their Oaths, the business stuck till the Kings coming to *Oxford*. At what time the Fellows being Order'd to attend the King at Christ-Church, hearken to the pleasant Dialogue between Sovereignty, and the low Inferior Fellows of a College.

K. What's your name? Are you Dr. *Pudsey*?

Dr. Yes, may it please your Majesty.

K. Did you receive my Letter?

Dr. Yes, Sir, we did.

K. Then you have not dealt with me like Gentlemen. You have done very uncivilly and undutifully by me. Here they all kneel'd, and Dr. *Pudsey* offer'd a Petition, which the King refus'd to receive; and then proceeding,

K. Ye have been a stubborn turbulent College, I have known ye to be so these twenty six years, and you have affronted me in this. Is this your Church of *England* Loyalty? One would wonder to find so many Church of *England* men in such a business. Go home and shew your selves good Members of the Church

Church of *England*. Get you gone: Know I am your King; I will be obey'd, and I command you to be gone: Go and admit the Bishop of *Oxon*, Head, *Principal*, what d'ye call it, of the College ----- I mean President of the College. Let them that refuse know, they shall feel the weight of their Sovereigns displeasure.

Upon which the Fellows going out of the Presence, were call'd back.

K. I hear you have admitted a Fellow of the College, since you receiv'd my Inhibition. Have you not admitted *Mr. Holden* Fellow?

Dr. P. I think he was admitted Fellow, but we conceive -----

Mr. Cra. May it please Your Majesty there was no new Election, or Admission, but only the Consummation of a former Election.

K. The Consummation of a former Election is down right Disobedience; and it is a fresh aggravation. Get you home, I say, again, and immediately repair to your Chappel, and Elect the Bishop of *Oxon*, or else you must expect to feel the weight of my Hand ----

There-

Thereupon the Fellows offer'd their Petition once more upon their Knees.

K. Get you gone ; I will receive none from you, till you have obeyed me, and admitted the Bishop of *Oxon*.

But notwithstanding all this Royal browbeating, they return'd to their Chappel more afraid of Divine Justice, then the menaces of human Partiality: and therefore, upon Dr. *Pudseys* proposing to them whither they would obey the King, and Elect the Bishop of *Oxon*; they made Answer, That they were ready to obey the King in all things that lay in their Power; but the Electing of the Bishop of *Oxon*, being directly contrary to their Statutes, and the positive Oaths they had taken, they could not apprehend it was in their Power to obey him in that Matter.

While the Fellows kept firm to these Resolutions, it was in vain for them to Petition, as they did, for the Kings Grace and Tendernefs, or to make Remonstrances of their Loyalty and Readiness to obedience, in any thing that might not violate their Consciences. For the Point was not Violation or not Violation

Violation of Conscience; but *Nebuchadnezzars* Image was to be Worshipt; and the Question was, Will ye Worship it or not? *Daniel* pleaded Conscience, but he was thrown into the *Lyons* Den for it.

There were some forward People of the Clergy that had vaunted so much of their Passive Obedience, that the King was resolv'd to make no distinction, but that they should all have their Belly-fulls of it.

And therefore the Fellows Plea of Conscience being lookt upon as Obstinacy and Contempt, a Visitation was agreed upon at *Whitehall*, and three *Visitors*, or under Beadles, to the *Grand-Father-Lashers*, the Bishop of *Chester*, *L. C. J. Wright*, and Baron *Jenner*, by whom the pretended President (as they call'd him) and *Fellows* were cited to make their appearance by such a day. At what time, after some endeavours of the President for longer time to advise with Counsel, and to get a Copy of the Commission, which was denied; the President was ask'd by the Bishop of *Chester*, Whether he would submit to the

the Visitation ? To which the President answer'd for himself, and the Major part of the Fellows, That they did submit to it, so far as was consistent with the Law of the Land, and the Statutes of the College, and no further. Justice *Wright* ask'd him, Whither they could imagine that they acted against the Law of the Land ? And as for the Statutes, he said, the King had dispens'd with them. And so the Chief Justice well knew the King had done with the Law too ; and therefore he needed not to have repeated the Question twice, Do ye think we come here to act against Law ? However the President told his Lordship in plain terms, That their Commission gave them Authority to alter the Statutes, as they thought fit : but that he was bound by Oath to observe the Statutes already made, and not to admit any alteration of them ; and therefore, as he was bound to admit no alteration, so he never would.

Upon which the Bishop of *Chester* putting several questions to the President, As whither he did observe all the Statutes of the College ? And wherefore

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fore he did not read Maſs, ſince they had a Statute for that? The Preſident answer'd, That the matter of that Oath was unlawful, beſides that the Statute was taken away by the Laws of the Land. But then the Biſhop coming more cloſe to the Point, and demanding of the Preſident, Whither he allowed that an Act of Parliament could free him from the Obligation of a Statute? The Preſident replied, That he could not ſay but that the King might alter their Statutes, and that he did not know but that a Parliament might do the ſame: only that he had already taken an Oath to obſerve the Statutes as they then ſtood, and was ſworn to admit of no change or alteration, by any Authority whatever, and therefore could obey no more. However they who came after ſuch Limitations and Reſtrictions were made, might do as they pleas'd; which was their preſent caſe.

Then the Decree, declaring the Preſidents Election null and void, being read, The Preſident objected, that being never cited before the Commiſſioners,

ners, nor heard by them either in Person or by Proxy, he thought himself the first Instance of any man that was ever depriv'd of a Freehold wherein he was Legally invested. Then as for Dr. *Fairfax's* suspension, it was observable, that the reason given by the Commissioners, was, because he had not obey'd the Kings command for the Election of Mr. *Farmer*, when the Commissioners themselves were satisfied, that the charge which they had given in against Mr. *Farmer* was true, by the confirmation of so many Testimonies; and yet that after that, the Suspension of Dr. *Fairfax* was fix'd upon the College Gates.

Upon which the Bishop of *Chester* putting in, told the President, that the King for the most part recommended to the Presidentship of that College. To which the President made answer, That he was the Twentieth President, and that he knew of but only Four that had been recommended by the Kings and Queens of *England*, of which Three of the Number were every way qualified.

By all which, and some other questions of the same nature, it appear'd that the Commissioners came thither, rather to quarrel and cavil with the President and Fellows, then to call them to account for any thing which they had done illegal or unjustifiable.

The next day the President was ask'd, Whither he would submit to the Decree of the Commissioners, by which the Election was declar'd void or no?

The President answer'd, That the Decree of the Lords above, was a Nullity in it's self from the Beginning to the End, as it related to him, he having never been Cited, nor having appear'd before them either in Person or by Proxy. Besides, that his Cause it self was never before them, That he was possess'd of a Freehold, according to the Laws of *England*, and the Statutes of the Society, and admitted by the real Visitor, and therefore could not submit to that Sentence, since he could not be depriv'd of his Freehold, but by the course of Law at *Westminster-Hall*, or by being incapable by the Founders Statutes.

Then

Then he was requir'd to deliver up the Keys of the Presidents Office and Lodgings, to the use of the Person whom the King had appointed President. To which the President made answer, That there neither was, nor could be, any other President so long as he liv'd conformable to the Statutes of the College, and therefore refus'd to give up his Right. Upon which the Bishop of *Chester* told him, that they demanded his Keys and Lodgings as Visitors. To which the President replied, That they never deliver'd up the Keys to the Bishop of *Winton*, nor did they own a greater Visitorial Power then his, as having the King's Authority. Notwithstanding all this, and some other enlargements to the same purpose, the Bishop of *Chester* persisted to demand the Keys, and quiet possession, of his Lodging. To which when the President made answer, That he had not seen or heard any thing to induce him to it; the Kings Proctor stood up and accus'd the President of Contumacy. And the Bishop of *Chester* admonish'd him Three times to depart peaceably

out of his Lodgings, and to act no longer as President, or pretended President of the Colledge; and then striking his Name out of the Book, admonished the Fellows, and the rest of the Society, no longer to submit to his Authority.

The same Morning, after some Dispute between Doctor *Fairfax* and the Visitors, concerning the Legality of his Suspension, the Question was put to him, and all the rest of the Fellows, Whither they would assist at the Admission of the Bishop of *Oxford* to be Installed President by vertue of the King's Mandate? To which all the Fellows but three made answer, That they were under Oaths to the contrary, and therefore could not do it.

In the Afternoon, the same Question was again put to the Fellows, and the same Answer again returned, that the Place of President was full, and therefore they could not consent to the Installing the Bishop of *Oxford*. And then it was that Dr. *Hough* came into the Court, and protested against their Proceedings, and all that they had or should hereafter do, in prejudice to him and
his

his Right, as Illegal, Unjust and Null, and that therefore he appeal'd to the King in his Courts of Justice. Upon which the Young Scholars in the Room giving a Hum, so incensed the Visitors, that notwithstanding all the Protestations the President and Fellows could make, the Lord Chief Justice bound the President in a Bond of a thousand Pound, and his Security in the like Sum, to make his Appearance by a day at the Kings-Bench Bar.

Within two or three days after, Mr. *Wiggins*, the Bishop of *Oxford's* Chaplain, was by the Bishop of *Chester* put into the Presidents Stall in the Chapel, by vertue of the King's Mandate for the Bishop; and after he had taken the Oath which the Statutes enjoyn the President to take at his Admission, together with the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, he was by the Visitors conducted to the Door of the Presidents Lodgings, where knocking three times, and the Door not being opened, they returned to the common Room, and commissioned *Atterbury* and a Tip-staff to fetch a Smith and force it open, which

was done, the Visitors being present all the while; but none of the Fellows, unless Mr. *Charnock*, being present at any of these Tryals of Skill.

Upon the Visitors return from this piece of Service into the common Room, Dr. *Fairfax* told their Lordships, that they had been doing what he could by no means consent to. To which the Bishop of *Oxford* replying, that he was big to be delivered of his own Destruction, demanded of him Whither he would submit to the Bishop of *Oxford*, then installed President by vertue of the King's Mandate? To which the Doctor replied, that he neither could nor would, because they had a Legal President already. Upon which his Name was struck out of the Book, his Place declared void, and he commanded to depart the College within fourteen days. Upon which the Doctor protested against the Illegality of the Visitors Proceedings, and appealed to the Law of the Land.

After which, several of the Society were prevailed with to subscribe to the Installation of the Bishop of *Oxford*, so far

far as it was lawful and agreeable to the Statutes of the College. But this being not thought satisfactory above, in regard the King requir'd a further submission, by acknowledging their contempt to his Person and his Letters; and that they should promise to behave themselves Loyally for the future, that they should own the Proceedings and Legality of the Court; implore the King's Pardon, and lay themselves at his Feet. Upon which the Fellows withdrawing, and having drawn up the form of a Submission of their own, protesting their readiness to obey the King, but withal that they could not acknowledge themselves Guilty of a crime, for having acted conformable to themselves. The Visitors drew up a Form of their own, wherein the Fellows were oblig'd to acknowledge the Authority of the Visitors, and the Justice of their Proceedings, and to declare their entire submission to the Bishop of *Oxon*. To this Paper, they were told, they must all sign or refuse, as they were called. To which, when all, except *Dr. Tho. Smith* and *Mr. Charnock* refus'd to submit, they were
all

all, to the number of Twenty five, by Decree of the Visitors, declar'd to be depriv'd and expell'd from their respective Fellowships: And as if this had not been enough, the same Twenty five Fellows were by Sentence of the Lords Commissioners at *Whitehall*, declar'd incapable of receiving or being admitted, to any Ecclesiastical Dignity, Benefice or Promotion. And such as were not yet in Orders, adjudg'd incapable of being admitted or received into the same.

By these unjust and illegal Proceedings, in the Case of the Precedent and Fellows of *Magdalen College*, it was evident that all the Protestant Ministers in *England* might in a short time be outed from their Livings and Benefices, not only in *Oxford*, but in all Parts of *England*; and then it was as plain who were to come in their Places. And who knows how far the Power of this Ecclesiastical Commission would have extended; since the Nation had just reason to fear, that they who made such Illegal Invasions upon Ecclesiastical Property, would with the same Injustice have descended to

new

new Recognitions of Abbey Lands.

But the Designs of the Papists displayed themselves much more conspicuously in the Prosecution of the Seven Bishops; while the same Declaration which had promis'd to protect them in the quiet and full enjoyments of all their Possessions, without any molestation or disturbance whatever, was made the Trapan not only to deprive them of their Possessions, but to reach their Lives also, if possible.

For the Declaration being reprinted, with an Order of the King and Council affix'd to it, for the reading of it at the usual time of Divine Service, in all the Churches and Chappels throughout the Kingdom, and directions to the Bishops to cause the said Declaration to be sent and distributed throughout their several and respective Diocesses to be Read accordingly; The Bishops well knowing the consequences of Reading the Declaration, thought it expedient to present the following Petition to the King.

To

To the King's most Excellent Majesty,
 The Humble Petition of *William*
 Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and di-
 vers of the Suffragan Bishops of that
 Province (now present with him) in
 behalf of themselves, and others of
 their absent Brethren, and of the
 Clergy of their respective Diocesses,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT the great averſeneſſ, which
 they find in themſelves, to the Di-
 ſtributing and Publiſhing, in all their
 Churches, Your Majeſties late Declaration
 for Liberty of Conſcience, proceeds neither
 from any want of Duty and Obedience to
 Your Majeſty, or Holy Mother the Church
 of England, being both in her Principles,
 and in her conſtant Practice, unqueſtiona-
 bly Loyal; and having to her great Ho-
 nour, been more then once publickly ac-
 knowledg'd to be ſo by Your Gracious Ma-
 jeſty: Nor yet from any want of due ten-
 derneſſ to Diſſenters, in relation to whom
 they are willing to come to ſuch a Temper
 as ſhall be thought fit, when the Matter ſhall
 be conſider'd and ſettl'd in Parliament and
 Con-

Convocation : But among many other considerations, from this especially, because that Declaration is founded upon such a Dispensing Power as has been often declared Illegal, in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of Your Majesties Reign; and is a Matter of so great consequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that Your Petitioners cannot in Prudence, Honor or Conscience, so far make themselves Parties to it; as the Distribution of it all over the Nation, and the solemn Publication of it once and again, even in Gods House, and in the time of his Divine Service, must amount to in common and reasonable Construction.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly and earnestly beseech Your Majesty, that You will be graciously pleas'd not to insist upon their distributing and reading Your Majesties said Declaration.

To which the King return'd the ensuing short Answer.

I Have heard of this before, but did not believe it: I did not expect this from the Church of England, especially from some of you. If I change my mind, you shall hear from me; if not, I expect my Commands should be obeyed.

But it seems the King did not change his mind, as it appeared by the Consequences; for soon after the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the Lords Bishops of *St. Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough and Bristol*, by a Warrant under the Hands and Seals of several of the Privy Council, were committed to the Tower for Contriving, Making and Publishing a Seditious Libel or Writing against His Majesty and his Government. Upon the day prefixed for the Appearance of these Noble Lords, they were brought into the Kings-Bench Court, by vertue of a *Habeas Corpus* returnable immediate; at what time the King's Attorney moved that the Bishops might plead to an Information against them. But the Counsel for the Bishops opposed it with

two

two Objections against the Legality of the Commitment; the first of which was, that the Return was not good, because it ran by the *Lords of the Council*, and not in Council, as it ought to have done in Form of Law. The other was, that the Bishops, as Peers, could not be committed for a Misdemeanor.

Upon both which Points, after the Counsel on both sides had argued a long time, Mr. Justice *Powell* differed from the rest, affirming, that both Points were of that Weight, that he could not give his Opinion, till he had consulted the Books and Presidents in both Cases. But the other three having given their Opinion that the Return was good, the Debate was hotter upon the other Point, while the King's Council maintained, that a Peer might be committed for such a Misdemeanor, as for which Surety of the Peace might be required; and that the Bishop's was such a Misdemeanor, they argued from the Information, wherein were the words, *Vi & armis, contra Pacem*. Pen and Ink in Writing a Petition, being taken for Arms; for in *Algernon Sidney's* Case it was said, that

that *Scribere est agere*. Therefore the Misdemeanor of the Bishop's being such, as would have required Sureties of the Peace, the Bishop's Counsel were overruled, and the Information, by three of the Judges, was ordered to be read, which was, for Forming, Contriving and Writing a certain False, Fictitious, Pernicious and Seditious Libel, under pretence of a Petition, which was the Petition before mentioned.

The Information being read, the Counsel for the Bishops desired an Impar lance, which the Court, after a long Argument, would not allow of, in regard it had been the Practice of the Court, not to grant any Impar lance for twelve years last past. Upon which the Archbishop put in a Plea in Writing, to the same Effect which the Counsel had pleaded. But that being overrul'd by three of the Judges, (for Mr. Justice *Powell* sided all along with the Arguments on the Bishops side,) both his Grace and their Lordships the Bishops, pleaded all severally to the Information; and then the Court having taken the Archbishop's Recognizance

zance in 200 *l.* and the Bishops in 100 *l.* a piece, the Court rose for that time.

Within a Fortnight after the Bishops came to their Tryal at the King's-Bench Bar, where were many more of the Nobility then at their first Appearance. So soon as the Jury was Sworn, and the Information read, the King's Counsel having opened the Matter, proceeded first to prove the King's Declaration therein mentioned, and next the Petition to be the Archbishop's hand writing, and Sign'd by the rest of the Bishops by Similitude of Hands; at what time *Sidney's Case* was strongly urged, and as vigorously opposed by the Bishops Counsel, who also denied the Writing of the Petition to have been in *Middlesex*, as it was said in the Information; after which it was strongly argued, Whether delivering it to the King were a Publication of it; to prove which, several Courtiers were examined as Witnesses, and upon the whole, the Bishops Charge was, for Conspiring to diminish the Royal Authority, and Regal Prerogative of the King, in Prosecution whereof, they did Seditiously make

a Libel against the King, under the presence of a Petition to the King, and publish the same in the King's presence. But the King's Counsel pleaded, that the Matter of the Petition was illegal; at what time the Dispensing Power was learnedly confuted by the Bishops Counsel, who brought several Records and Acts of Parliament to confirm what they said; and farther, that the Delivery of it was Legal, and that the Bishops were no such ill Persons as the King's Counsel represented them. Upon summing up the Evidence, the Lord Chief Justice was of opinion, that the Petition was a Libel, and so delivered his Judgment upon it to the Jury.

Mr. Justice *Holloway* was of Opinion, that it could be no fault to deliver a Petition; so that unless the Jury were satisfied that there was any ill Intention in the delivery of it, they were not to find the Bishops Guilty; neither indeed did he think it was a Libel.

And as for Justice *Powel*, he declared he could not see for his part, any thing of Sedition, or any other Crime fixed upon those Reverend Fathers,

thers, the Lords the Bishops, and denied that there was any such Power as a Dispensing Power in the King; which if it were once allowed of, there would be no need of Parliaments, since all the Legislature would be in the King; which he recommended to the Consideration of the Jury.

Justice *Alibone*, straining this Point too high, would have made the Jury believe, that all manner of Petitioning the King, in contradiction to his Government, unless it were by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, was Seditious: But urging his Memoirs too far, he was taken up by Justice *Powel* for Mis-quotation, and convicted by the Solicitor General of a manifest Error.

Thus, after a full Hearing on both sides, and the Opinions of the Judges given, the Court rose; and the Jury sitting up all Night, the next Morning, the Bishops being in Court, brought them all in, Not Guilty; which was a Verdict so pleasing to the People, that it filled *Westminster-hall* with Acclamations, the Camp at *Hounslow* with Loud

Shouts, and all the Land with Joy for their Lordships Deliverance.

While the Popish Party were driving on thus, *Jehu* like, with a full Gale of good Fortune and Success, nothing troubled them so much, as the fear lest the King should dye before they had fully accomplished their Work. They could not hope for any Production from the King and Queen, that was likely to be long liv'd, by reason of the many Infirmities to which the Queen was subject. On the other side they knew the Queen was so perfectly devoted to the Popish Religion, that there was nothing which they could propose to her Morally possible for her to undertake, but she would think it Meritorious to be Instrumental in. And therefore having so laudable a Precedent to recommend to her, as that of Q. *Mary of England*, they resolved to set the Contrivance on Foot; which if it took effect, they flattered themselves that they should fix a new Popish Heaven upon Earth.

To this purpose it was, that a General Rumour was spread abroad, that the Queen was with Child, which raised the

the Fancies of the Papists to that degree, that they began to insult over the Protestants, and scrupel'd not to boast, that though it were a Daughter, (though they that were in the Conspiracy knew better things then to have it of that Sex,) yet being born after the King was Crown'd, it would prevent the Succession of Her Royal Highness, who came into the World when the King was only a Duke. But the Queens being with Child, was a Story believed by none but the Papists, and the Protestants were the more confirmed in their Belief, by the Story of the Lady of *Loretto*, and the Dutches of *Modena's* Application to Heaven in her behalf; and every body Derided and Lam-poon'd the Mummery, which was look'd upon to be a meer Contrivance of the Jesuits.

However, for the space of eight or nine Months, such were the great Expectations of the Queen's being Delivered, that the Protestants both at home and abroad were not a little discouraged, as being not a little Apprehensive of the Disappointment of Her

Royal Highness, and the Papists no less encouraged to carry on their Designs with more Vigor. But the *English* Nobility were not to learn how well vers'd the Priests and Jesuits had been from time to time for several Ages together, in framing such Impostures and Forgeries as these, to alter the Succession of Crowns for the Service of the Romish See; and therefore seeing them labouring with so much Industry and Sedulity to fix in the minds of the People a Belief of the Queen's being with Child, and undertaking to give them Prophetical Assurances that it would be a Son; These double Diligencies not only raised but confirmed the Lords in their Suspicions, that there might be a Counterfeit Male-Heir impos'd upon the Nation, and set up for a Prince of *Wales*, and that the Priests were Actors in this *Farce*, according to the several Parts which they had given them to act. Which caused the Lords to determine among themselves to keep Memorials of the Management of the whole Contrivance, so far as the Informations which they received from time

to time, would give them leave. By which Observations and diligent comparing of Circumstances together, during the time of the Queens Great Belly, and Delivery of the Male Infant, the Lords were so fully convinc'd of the Truth of what they suspected, that they no longer made any doubt of the pretended Prince of *Wales's* being a Counterfeit.

For in the first Place, the fundamental Rules of Equity and Justice requir'd, that when a Child is to be born, which immediately upon the Birth was to become Heir to three Kingdoms; and at the same time disappoints the hopes of an Heirefs apparent, and the expectancies of several other Princes of the Blood; it should be absolutely requisite that such a Child should be born of the Queens Body, and that the Birth of such a Child should be attested, upon their certain knowledge, by Witnesses answerable in number to the importance of the Occasion, and such a National concern, and against whom there cannot be the least exception made for their Reputation, their Vertue, their Parti-

vality, and undeniable Authority, sufficient to convince the whole World by the weight of their Testimony. For such is the Case of a Male-Heir to the Crown of *England*, that no sooner is a Son of the Queens Body, born of her Body, but that at the very same minute and instant of Time, all pretensions of Right and Apparences as to any other Person cease, how strong and valid they might be at the very moment before. And for that reason there is nothing against which all the Laws, Civil Justice and Government more charily provide, then against the violation of Inheritance. And therefore the Proofs by which any one is Disseiz'd of an apparent Right, must be so certain and undeniable as to be beyond all contradiction and controule: Otherwise it is a positive breach of the Law of God, and all that is sacred upon Earth; a total Dissolution and Annihilation of all Property, Civil Justice and Government, to invade the Apparent and Lawful Right of any person, unless with manifest and undeniable proof of a prior and superior Right. Here then was her Royal Highness,
Heir

Heir Apparent to the Crown of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, in a great probability to have been outed of her Apparent Right, by the Pretended Birth of a Prince of *Wales*. It was therefore of necessity requisite, considering the suspicions and jealousies which attended the Birth of this Prince of *Wales*, that he should have been born in the Presence of the Princes of the Blood, the Prelates of most remarkable Ecclesiastical Dignity, the Chiefest of the Nobility, the Officers of Highest Trust in the Nation, and the Embassadors and publick Ministers of Foreign States and Princes; so that the Proofs of his Birth from the Body of the Queen, might have been so undoubted and unquestionable, that there should not have been any Room for the least appearance of Contradiction or Suspicion.

But on the other side, it had been the Opinion of most People for a long time, that the Queen's Body had been so long disabl'd by Sicknes and Infirmities, that she was not in a capacity to bring forth any Issue, much less a Son. According to the Judgment of Dr. *Willis*, who upon

on view of one of her Children, declar'd that it wanted *Stamina Vitæ*, or the Foundations of Life.

Then again, for the generality of the Nation, they were so ill satisfied of the Truth of the Queens being with Child, notwithstanding whatever the King or the Queen might affirm and boast of themselves, that hardly one in two hundred'd believ'd it; only they were constant in this, That they Universally were satisfied, that it was a design of the King, and his Popish Counsels, to impose a Counterfeit upon the Nation, on purpose to strengthen their Party by the hopes of a Popish succession, and to delude unwary Protestants into the same snare.

It was the fear and apprehension of all Men, that the Protestant Religion, not only in *England*, but in all Foreign Countries would be much endanger'd, or else as greatly secur'd by the Queens delivery or not delivery of a Son; and that the Birth of a real Prince of *Wales*, would be a great Disappointment to the just Rights and Pretensions of such Princes and Princesses, who had before his Birth

Birth a lawful Claim, to no less than three Imperial Crowns. Besides, that it threaten'd *England* with the calamity of falling under an Infant *Chimera* of a Prince, or rather, and more truly, under the Tyranny of *Rome* it self.

Which being the unfortunate consequences, that of necessity would have ensu'd upon the Advancement and Establishment of this supposititious Prince of *Wales*, never parallel'd or heard of before in Story, as to the Birth of any Prince in the World: Most certainly, by the Rules of Common Justice in general, and the Customs of *England* in particular, there should have been such apparent and undoubted Proofs that the Counterfeit Prince was born of the Queens Body, as should not have admitted any Objection, but answer'd every Circumstance, and suffic'd to have vanquish'd not only the Jealousies and Suspicions of the People of *England*, but of all other Nations beyond the Seas.

And to this purpose it was also requisite, that there should have been Women of spotless Integrity, Chastity, Virtue

tue and Honor, present at the same time, to have given Testimony of their personal view of the self-same individual Child's being really, and *bona Fide*, deliver'd and issuing, according to the course of Nature, from the Queen's Body. And that the Men should have had the opportunity to make their Attestations, upon Ocular view, of the naked Infant, with all the Marks upon it, of immediate separation from the Womb, by the Assistance and Instructions of Physicians and Women of Experience; and in a word, that the Testimonies of both Sexes should have been answerable in greatness of Birth, in Grandeur of Reputation and Authority to the occasion in controversy, the Persons in dispute, and the vast extent of the Good or Mischief which might have prov'd the consequence of all. Matrons of Experience, Probity and Gravity: Persons publickly known to the Kingdom, and not pitiful, obscure Italians and French Hirelings, that scarce were ever heard of either in this or any other Kingdom. For in regard there was never such an absolute Necessity to have clear'd this difficult
Point

Point, and to have dispell'd those Jealousies and Mistrusts, which gave a greater Alarm to the Nation, then ever was given to it since the first founding of this Monarchy; Certainly it highly concern'd the King and Queen to have made use of the most noble and dignified Testimonies that were in the Land; in regard that since it was what the Law requir'd, the only way to have satisfied the Subject was to have satisfied the Law. Which had also been a satisfaction to Justice, which was no less to be satisfied, seeing that the Birth of a Counterfeit Prince, was by an Imposture, to have devested of her Apparent Right of Inheritance, the true and Legitimate Heiress.

Then again, it was not a little wonder'd at, how it came to pass, that the King, who very well understood, that the Laws and Customs of *England* requir'd a fit and competent Number of Witnesses, and a far greater Number in this Case, where the Conception of the Queen was lookt upon by the Universality of the Nation, as a fictitious piece of Mockery, and where all Men were almost

almost absolutely convinc'd that a counterfeit Prince was to be impos'd upon the Nation, should produce so small a Number, and of those, many so obscure and little known to the World, that their Names were hardly heard of before. And therefore since the Maxims and Reasons of the English Law are so severe, in the Case of a Child pretended to be set up, to the Exclusion of an Apparent Heir; and that there was such great cause, in this Case of the Queen and the pretended Prince of *Wales*, to suspect a Forgery, and an Imposure upon the three Nations, in regard there was no Notice given to the Heir Apparent, of the Time when this pretended Heir was to come into the World, nor to any other who had Titles in Expectancy; it was an Inference concluded from the Rules and Maxims of the English Law, which demands sufficient proof to put the matter of Fact out of doubt, that the Witnesses of the supposed Birth of the Prince of *Wales* ought not to be believ'd, since they who were to make good the claim of the supposed Prince of *Wales* had sufficient time to have
given

given due notice to all the Parties concern'd, and to have Witnesses of that Reputation, as might have put the Birth of the suppos'd Prince quite out of dispute.

And indeed it would have been but an ordinary piece of prudence to have had a numerous train of Witnesses, and those of different Honors, Dignities, Sexes and Interests; since it could never have been imagin'd that so considerable a number of Testimonies of both Sexes, so considerable for their Quality and the reputation of their Integrity, and all various in their Offices, Dignities and Employments, could have ever enter'd into a Confederacy to cheat the Nation with a *St. Martin's* Tinsel Prince, and be so true one to another in such an unjust and wicked piece of Fraud.

Add to this, that the Law admits no Man or Woman to be an Evidence that takes a Bribe, or reward of Mony, or Preferment, or any other Emolument to engage themselves in an Oath. More especially will it not permit any person or persons to be Witnesses, concerning the Birth of this surreptitious Prince of
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Wales,

Wales, who were in hopes of any Preferment, Offices or Advantages that might accrew from his Grandeur: Nor any person or persons that have so much their Dependance upon the Fosterers and Setters up of this supposed Prince of *Wales*, that they dare not displease them for fear of losing their places. Nor any person or persons who are commonly reputed, or by proof may be made appear to have any Enmity or prejudice against her Highness, with whom the Counterfeit Prince or *Pseudo-Stewart* chiefly stands in competition; since it is an exception not to be Answered, against such, that they are mortal Enemies to her and the Protestant Religion, which she professes. Neither will the Laws of the Land allow the Testimony or Declaration of the King or Queen, in proof of the Legitimacy of the supposed Prince of *Wales*, seeing that if they themselves might be sufficient proofs in their own causes, they might be as well sufficient Judges: besides, that if the Kings affirmation should be allow'd by the Law of the Land, sufficient to make a Prince of *Wales*, with-

without such a Number of Witnesses as by the Law are requir'd, it might prove the overturning of the constitution of the British Monarchy, especially in matters of Fact, by which an injury may be done to another. In like manner neither can the King, by the Rules and Regulations of the Law, at his will and pleasure alter the Succession of the Crown of *England*, or so order and contrive it, that the Crown shall not descend to the next in Blood. So that if the King's Affirmation alone, without any further proof, were sufficient to bind the belief of the Nation; his bare Affirmation would then actually extend to put by and frustrate the Succession of the next Heir, and submit it to the will and pleasure of the King. But the next lawful Successor is Heir to the Kingdom, by vertue of the Law it self, and cannot be defeated of his Right of Succession, by any Act of the preceding Prince. And then for the King to plead that these things came not into his mind, or that he was ignorant of them, could be no satisfaction to the Kingdom in such a case as this, where the Laws and Customs of *England* are

Positive, and require clear and demonstrable Proofs, of the Birth of the Supposed Prince.

But besides these, there were other Personal Circumstances to prove the Queens not being with Child, as being the particular Symptoms that always accompany Women that are Pregnant. For it was discovered upon very good Assurances, that she never had the most usual, and most natural and common Symptoms of Conception. For want of which usual and natural Symptoms, the Queen could have no fixed time to begin her Reckoning; and therefore the King, to help her out, declared in Council, that his Wife and He had thought it convenient to make her Conception publick, from the time that the Offering was made to the Image of the *Loretto Madamoiselle*, when the King returned to the Queen at the *Bath*.

However, afterwards this fell out very unluckily, because it was impossible to bring so well together the time of her Conception, and that of her pretended Delivery, as to compleat the full and natural time of Nine Months. So that the

the Women crying out in Derision, upon the King's Boasting what a Strong, Lively, Chopping Child he had got, That such a Child at Eight Months, was as great a Miracle, as her Conception upon her Presenting the Lady of *Loretto* with a Diamond Bodkin : The Confederates fearing the spreading of such a Report, might endanger the Discovery of the Imposture, perswaded the Queen to give it out that she had mistaken her Reckoning, as it was a common thing for Women to do.

But they forgot that the Queen had stood to her first Reckoning several Weeks after she pretended to be Delivered, and that it was well known that the Customs of Women were upon her as she went to the *Bath*, and four days after the King's Departure, which was a certain Sign she had not then Conceived; or if she had Conceived, then it could be no failure in her Reckoning, and she did ill to Bathe, for fear of destroying the Fruit of her Womb.

Another thing under Consideration was, that whereas in other Women there will appear a visible Swelling and

Increase of the Breasts, together with a fair Appearance of Milk; all these Symptoms were also wanting in the Queen: Nor did ever any Lady, who was proper to be a Witness, ever see a drop of Milk in her Breasts, which were still the same to the Eyes of all that viewed them, without any alteration of Bulk or Proportion.

Neither was any proper Witness of Quality and Experience admitted, during the whole time of her Pregnancy, to touch the Queen's Belly, that they might be able to give a Testimony concerning the Motion and Stirring of the Child in the Womb: Which it behoved the Queen, had her Intentions been fair, to have shewn to the Protestant Ladies of her Bed-Chamber, who were no less doubtful then others, of her being with Child, as well as the Person who was her Physician.

Another Observation was, That there was not any Distention of the Parts of her Body, that surrounded and encompassed the Womb, which are always observed to enlarge and extend themselves, more especially during the four
last

last Months, to make room for the Child in the Womb, as it grows on to Perfection. And though several Matrons attended on purpose to make an exact Observation of the rising of the Queen's Belly, yet none of them could perceive the least appearance of the Growth of any Child in her Belly; only when she was dress'd, her Belly was so ordered, as to seem to rise up before, as if she had been with Child; but they that viewed her behind, as she walk'd, could perceive no sign of a Big-belly'd Woman: Which Observation was also made but a little before her pretended Lying-In. And which yet much more confirm'd the Suspicion to be a real Truth, was this, that during the four last Months, the Queen was always observ'd to retire, contrary to her usual Method, when she went to Shift her self, into some withdrawing Room, where none were permitted to come to her, but her *Italians* that were privy to the Secret.

Another thing remarkable, was this, that while she was preparing for her intended Delivery, there was no notice

given by the Queen, either to Her Royal Highness, or to any other next in Expectancy of the Succession, when she pretended her Reckoning was up, and expected to be Delivered, to the end that proper Persons might have attended, to have prevented all Suspicions. But on the other side, Instruments were made use of, to conceal both the Time and Place of her Delivery; and such an odd time of her Conception was spread abroad, that it was impossible for the Friends of Her Royal Highness to make any true Judgment when the *Farce* was to be acted. And then for the place, it was so variously rumour'd, sometimes *Windsor*, sometimes *Hampton-Court*, and by and by *Richmond*, that it was impossible for the Protestant Ladies and Friends of the Heiress Apparent, to know where to be in a Readiness to attend. And for fear the Princess of *Denmark* should be a vigilant Observer, as well for her own as her Sisters sake, the Plot was so laid, that for the Preservation of her Health, she was sent away to the *Bath*, on purpose to keep her at

a sufficient distance till the Scene was over.

But no sooner was notice that the Counterfeit *Mustapha* was almost ready, but the Queen was in such a Hurrey of a sudden, above three Weeks before her time was expected, that not above two days before her pretended Delivery, she was in Post haste to Lye-In at St. *James's*, where, if things could not be got ready so soon as was expected, she declared she would lye upon the Floor. Which words being uttered with so much Passion on the *Friday*, that she would Lye-In at St. *James's* upon *Saturday* Night; the most vigilant Overseers took their Observations from thence, but did not find that there was then the least Appearance, that the Juggle was then to be carried on upon *Sunday*, or that then the Pretended Birth of the long look'd for Counterfeit Prince was to be, in regard there was not the least shew of those fore-running Pains that usually precede the Travels of Child-bearing Women. Besides that, she sate up late that *Saturday* Night at Cards, without so much as the

least Pain or Disturbance, or any so much as the least thought of a Child-bearing Travel, till about Nine or Ten of the Clock the next Morning, when all the Protestant Ladies were at their Devotions; and then the Princely Babe being ready for a Second Birth, *Mrs. Wilks*, *Mrs. Labady*, and the Beloved *Mrs. Tonraine* did the Feat, and the Game was over before Church was done.

Now that the Room was prepared and made fit for the Blessed Transaction, was apparent, by the Privy-Door in the Space between the Bed and the Wall, through which it might be an easie thing to bring a Child, and convey it privately into the Bed, and yet the Parties never be discovered by any that attended in the Room, though standing at the Beds-feet; for that through that same Door it was easie for the Midwife and her Accomplices to convey in and out what they pleased themselves. Otherwise, had not there been a Necessity for that Door, by the Dictates of common Reason and Prudence it ought to have been either Seal'd or Nail'd up, to avoid the Suspicion

cion of an Imposture: But that Door was so requisite for the Management of the Poppet-play, that the whole Contrivance could not have been otherwise carried on then through that Door; which was a thing at the same time well known to the Lords of the Council that were then called in, not so much to see as to be seen, to the end their Names might afterwards be made use of to delude the People. And then again, so far was the Queen from dreading in the least the bitter Pains and Hazards of Child-bearing, that she made none of those Provisions used in such Cases. Nor was any order given for the College of Physicians to attend, as if she had certainly known, as most certainly she did, that neither her self nor the Child should stand in need of their Assistance. Only when all things were ready prepared in the Inner Chamber, that is to say, the Infant that was to be Born, and the After-birth that was to follow it, and whatever else was thought necessary and requisite to be shewn after the Child was Born; then the Queen being put
to

to Bed, with the Curtains close drawn round about Her, pretended to fall into Her Counterfeit Labour, at what time the Child with the After-birth were brought through the Door, between the Wall and the Queens Bed, and put between the Sheets by the Midwife, and the two Confederates before mention'd, Mrs. Labady a Perruke Makers Wife, and Madam Touraine. Who when they had play'd the first part, were no less seemingly busie and industrious about the Queens Person, which was the second Scene of the Act; But there was a necessity for them to make as much haste as they could, even beyond a reasonable Imagination, for fear the Infant, to whom they had giv'n something to make it sleep, should either wake and cry out of season, or else be smother'd between the Sheets, by reason of the closeness of the Bed. So that the Queen had the easiest Labour in the World; and indeed such a one as might well entitle it to the Epithite of pretended. For all this while the Queen suffer'd nothing of Pain: No signs of the Childs coming into the World; no alteration
of

of the Queen's Body by the Enfeebling's of Female Travel. But all was done in a Trice; and then the Midwife delivered something close cover'd into Mrs. *Labady's* Hands, and both together glided through the Door between the Wall and the Bed into the Chamber adjoining; and that in so much haste, that the Midwife her self made a plain discovery of the Fraud, by leaving the Queen at those very moments; when if the Delivery had been real, the usual Distresses and Dangers of Women in Labour, most requir'd her Assistance. And thus was this Counterfeit Prince brought forth in the Dark from under the Bed-cloths, the Curtains being drawn, and none that were in the Room permitted to see what was done about the Woman that was pretended to be brought to Bed. And as for the Lords of the Council, the King kept them in a huddle together at the Feet of the Bed, which was close secur'd from the observation of sight, so that they could neither see or hear any thing which could make them capable of being Witnesses of the Birth of the Child.

So

So that the best Construction that can be made of this Contrivance was only this, that the Blind and Begotted Zeal of the Papists, and their Popish Counsels to establish a Popish Succession in this Kingdom, made them violate all the Laws of Honor, Honesty, Justice and common Morality.

In this sad and desolate conjuncture of Affairs, wherein the Protestant Religion, the ancient Honor and Glory of the English Nation, the Rights, Privileges, Liberties and Properties of the Native Inhabitants, from the Highest to the Lowest, being all going to rack, the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, having no where else to place their Hopes and Confidence, but in her Royal Highness, as being Heir Apparent to the Crown, and the celebrated Vertue, and Renown of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, for Military Conduct and Heroick Magnanimity, represented to Them their Grievances so Effectually, that at length his Highness was induc'd, by their strong and convincing Arguments, to appear in the Defence and Rescue of Three Nations, languishing under

under the heavy Oppression of Arbitrary Power and Imposture. And so full was the Kingdom of just Resentment and Indignation, for the Violences and Outrages, which the People in general had suffer'd, by the Deprivation of their Privileges and Properties, both Ecclesiastical and Civil; and by such a dishonorable endeavour to *Craven* the true Breed of the Royal Line it self; that when it was known that his Highness was coming to their Succor, they expected him with all Impatience imaginable; and when he was Landed, made his Camp the general Rendevouze of the whole Nation.

On the other side, Arbitrary Controule and Domineering Popery began to Tremble at *Whitehall*. And in the midst of this Consternation, the Bishops were sent for up, out of all their Diocesses, by Expresses from the King, upon whom they waited in a Body; and then it was that the King was pleased to encourage them to give him their advice what was fit to be done; for as yet he had an Army about him, so that his Affairs were not altogether Desperate.

When

Whereupon the Bishops assembling at *Lambeth-House*, upon mature deliberation, prepar'd such matters as they judg'd most necessary for the Kings consideration; which after they had concluded upon, they waited a second time upon the King, and then it was that his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, both in his own and in the Name of the rest of the Bishops, represented to the King certain Propositions as the result of their Consultations, to this effect,

THAT it was necessary for him to restore all things to the State in which he found them, when he came to the Crown, by committing all Offices and Places of Trust in the Government, to such of the Nobility and Gentry as were qualified for them, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and by redressing and removing such Grievances as were generally complain'd of.

Particularly, That he would Dissolve the Ecclesiastical Commission, and promise to his People never to erect such a Court for the future.

That

That he would not only put an effectual stop to the Issuing forth of any Dispensations, but would call in and cancel all those which had since his coming to the Crown been obtain'd from him.

That he would restore the Universities to their Legal State, and particularly, restore the Master of Magdalen College in Cambridge, to the Profits of his Mastership, which he had been so long depriv'd of by an Illegal Suspension; and the Ejected Fellows and President of Magdalen College in Oxford, to their Properties in that College. And that he would not permit any Persons to enjoy any of the Preferments in either University, but such as were qualified by the Statutes of the Universities, the particular Statutes of their several Foundations, and the Laws of the Land.

That he would suppress the Jesuit's Schools, open'd in this City or elsewhere, and grant no more Licenses for such Schools as are apparently against the Laws of this Nation, and his own true Interest.

That he would send Inhibitions after those four Romish Bishops, who under the Title of Apostolick Vicars, presum'd to exercise,

ercise, within this Kingdom, such Jurisdictions as were by the Laws of the Land invested in the Bishops of the Church of England, and ought not to be violated or attempted by them.

That he would suffer no more Quo warantos to be issi'd out against Corporations, but would restore to those Corporations, which had been already disturb'd, their ancient Charters, Privileges, Grants and Immunities, and condemn all those Illegal Regulations of Corporations, by putting them into their late flourishing condition and Legal Establishment.

That he would fill up all the vacant Bishopricks in England and Ireland, with persons duly qualified by the Laws, and would more especially take into his care the See of York; whose want of an Archbishop is very prejudicial to the whole Province.

That he would act no more by a Dispensing Power, nor insist upon it, but permit that Affair at the first Sessions of a Parliament, to be fairly debated and argued, and settled by Act of Parliament.

That upon the restoration of Corporations to their ancient Charters, and Boroughs to their

their Preceptive Rights ; he would order Writs to be issued out for a fair and Free Parliament, and suffer it to sit and redress Grievances, to settle Matters in Church and State upon just and solid Foundations, and to establish a due Liberty of Conscience.

Lastly, and above all, That he would permit some of his Bishops to lay before him such Motives and Arguments as might, by the blessing of God, bring him back to the Communion of the Holy Church of England, into whose Catholick Faith he had been Baptiz'd, in which he had been Educated, and to which it was their earnest and dayly prayer to God, that he might be re-united.

Not long after, several of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal concurring together, presented the following Petition to the King. For by this time the Court was grown a little more humble, and did not look upon Petitions as Libels, nor commit the Presenters for Misdemeanors to the Tower.

May it please Your Majesty,

WE Your Majesties most Loyal Subjects, in a deep sense of the Miseries of War, now breaking forth in the Bowels of this Your Kingdom, and of the Danger to which Your Majesties Sacred Person, is thereby exposed; as also of the Distractions of Your People, by Reason of their present Grievances, do think our selves bound in Conscience, of the Duty we owe to God, and our Holy Religion, to Your Majesty and our Country, most humbly to offer to Your Majesty, That in our Opinion, the only visible way to preserve Your Majesty and this Your Kingdom, would be the Calling of a Parliament regular and free in all its Circumstances.

We therefore most earnestly beseech Your Majesty, That You would be graciously pleas'd to Call such a Parliament; wherein we shall be most ready to promote such Counsels and Resolutions of Peace and Settlement, in Church and State, as may conduce to Your Majesties Honor and Safety, and to the Quieting the Minds of the People.

We

We do likewise beseech Your Majesty, in the mean time, to use such means for the preventing the Effusion of Christian Blood, as to Your Majesty shall seem most meet.

This Petition was presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York Elect, and the Bishops of Ely and Rochester ; and Sign'd

<i>W. Cant.</i>	<i>Nom. Ebor.</i>
<i>Grafton</i>	<i>Will. Asaph.</i>
<i>Ormond</i>	<i>Fr. Ely</i>
<i>Dorset</i>	<i>Tho. Roffen.</i>
<i>Clare</i>	<i>Tho. Peterburg.</i>
<i>Clarendon</i>	<i>Tho. Oxon.</i>
<i>Burlington</i>	<i>Pagett</i>
<i>Anglesea</i>	<i>Shandois</i>
<i>Rochester</i>	<i>Ossulston.</i>
<i>Newport</i>	

To which the King return'd this Answer,

WHAT you ask of me, my Lords, I most passionately desire

desire. And I promise you upon the Faith of a King, That I will have a Parliament, and such a one as you ask for, as soon as the Prince of Orange has quited the Realm. For how is it possible a Parliament should be Free, in all its Circumstances, as you Petition for, while an Enemy is in the Kingdom, and can make a Return of a Hundred Voices ?

But notwithstanding this alteration of *Whitehall* Language, the People would not believe but that the King was perswaded by the Jesuits, to make that solemn Promise, meerly to try whether he could get rid of his unwelcom Guests, and that he only meant by a *Free Parliament*, such a Free Parliament as they were like to have had before the fear of the Prince came upon him. A Parliament shuff'd, cut and packt, by Mr. *Brent* and his Missionaries, or perhaps ten times worse, or none at all. For the Church of *Rome* was become such an infamous Bankrupt, that no body would

trust

trust her farther then they could command her, she was too well known to be like the Tyger, that Fauns, Sneaks and Lurks, as long as the Hunter is arm'd with his Spear and Gun, but when the Weapons are laid down, the Beast flies upon the unwearied Forester, and Tears and Devours him.

But the Prince of *Orange's* coming, was grounded upon more mature and deep Considerations, then to quit his Enterprize upon the Faith of a King, who had all along been so regardless of his Word. And those Considerations may in some measure appear by the Resolutions of the States General, and the Reasons which induced them to take those Resolutions, which they published before the Prince's Landing in *England* to this Effect.

That upon mature Deliberation it was found convenient, and resolved, that Notice should be given to all the *Ministers* abroad, of all the Reasons which induced their *High* and *Mightinesses* to assist the Prince of *Orange* going over to *England* in Person, with

Ships and Forces, with Orders to the said Ministers, to make use thereof in the several Courts where they reside. And that it should be Written to the said Ministers, that it was known to all the World, that the English Nation had a good while murmured and complained, that the King, (no doubt) through the Evil Counsel and Inducement of his Ministers, had gained upon their Fundamental Laws; and had laboured by a Violation thereof, and by bringing in the Roman Catholick Religion, to oppress their Liberty, to ruin the Protestant Religion, and to bring all under an Arbitrary Government. That as this unjust and inverted Conduct was carried on more and more, and the Apprehensions thereupon were still greater, that thereby such a Diffidence and Aversion was stirred up against the King, that nothing was to be expected in that Kingdom, but a general Disorder and Confusion; His Highness the Prince of Orange, upon the manifold Representations, and the reiterated and earnest Desire which was made to His Highness by several Lords,

Lords, and other Persons of Great Consideration in that Kingdom, as also upon the Accompt, that Her Royal Highness, and His Highness himself, are so nearly concerned in the Wellfare of that Kingdom, could not well endure, that through Strife and Disunion they should run the danger, however it went, of being Excluded from the Crown, held himself obliged to watch over the Wellfare of that Kingdom, and to take care thereof; and also had thoughts of assisting that Nation, and giving them a helping hand upon so many good and just Grounds, against the Government that oppressed them, all manner of ways that lay in His Highnesses Power; in regard that his Highness was perswaded that the Welfare also of this State (the care of which is likewise entrusted to him) was in the highest manner concerned, that the said Kingdom might continue in Tranquility, and that all misunderstanding between the King and the Nation might be taken away. That His Highness well knowing, that to succeed in so important and laudable a Cause, and that he might not be hindered

dered and prevented by such as were ill-inclin'd toward it, it was requisite for him to pass over into that Kingdom with a sufficient Military Force, did thereupon make known his Intentions to their High and Mightinesses, and desired their Assistance. Whereupon their High and Mightinesses having maturely weigh'd all things, and considering that the King of *England* and the King of *France*, held a very good Correspondence and Friendship one with another, of which their High and Mightinesses have been frequently very well assured, and that they were link'd in a strict and particular Alliance; and their High and Mightinesses being farther informed, that the said Confederate Princes were concerted together, to divide and separate this State from its Alliances; and farther knowing that the King of *France* has, upon several occasions, shewed himself dissatisfied with this State, which gave us great cause to fear, that in case the King of *Great Britain* should bring his Ends to pass within his own Kingdom, and obtain an Absolute Power over his People, that then both Kings,
out

out of Interest of State, and Hatred of the Protestant Religion, would endeavour to bring this State into Confusion, and if possible, to Subvert and Ruin it quite. Upon these Considerations their High and Mightinesses did resolve to approve of his Highnesses Undertaking, and to grant him Assistance both of Ships and Land-Forces.

Upon these weighty Considerations, and at the Invitations of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, His Highness the Prince of *Orange* set Sail from *Holland* with one and fifty Men of War, eighteen Fireships, and about three hundred thirty nine Tenders, for the carriage of Horse and Foot, Arms, Ammunition, &c. The Fleet stood out at Sea Northward, and met with very terrible Storms for two days and nights together; in which bad Weather about five hundred Horse were lost, and a Vessel separated from the Fleet, wherein were four hundred Foot supposed to be lost, though afterwards it arrived safe at the *Texel*, not without having suffer'd great Damage by the Storms: Besides, that

that two of the Princes Principal Men of War were forced to new Rig at *Helvershuise*.

The Prince, immediately upon his return, informed the States of the Condition of his Fleet, which was not so much damnified as it was represented by the Ignorant; however to Lull the *English* Court asleep, the *Harlem* and *Amsterdam* Gazettes were ordered to make a dismal Story of it, by representing to the World, that the Prince returned with his Fleet most miserably torn and shattered, having lost nine Men of War, and several others of less Concern; a thousand Horse quite lost; a Calenture among the Seamen; Dr. *Burnet*, and several of the Prince's chief Ministers Drown'd; and the ill Opinion which the States had of the Expedition. In short, that a hundred thousand Pound would not repair the Damage sustained, and that it was almost next to Impossibility, that the Prince should be in a Probability to pursue his Design till the Spring; though at the same time all hands were at work to repair the endamag'd Ships, which was so considerable,

considerable, that in eight days time they were all refitted. At what time all the Fleet weigh'd Anchor, and stood out at Sea, steering their Course Northward all that night; but the next day upon Tide of Ebb, they made a stretch, and made somewhat above a League a Watch, and then stood Westward, and lay all night in the same Posture, not making above two Leagues a Watch.

About Midnight an Advice-Boat brought an Account, that the *English* Fleet consisting of three and thirty Sail, lay to the Westward of Ours. Upon which the Prince fired a Gun, which caused a great Consternation through the whole Fleet; we having a brisk Easterly Wind, and concluding ourselves to be all ruin'd: But the small Advice-Boats cruising for more certainty, brought word, that instead of the *English* Fleet, which the former Advice had alarm'd us with, it was Admiral *Herbert* with part of the *Dutch* Fleet, which had been separated for some hours from the Body of the Fleet; upon whose arrival there was

no

no less Joy among the Seamen, then there had been Fear before.

In the Morning about eight of the Clock, the Prince gave a Signal for the Admirals to come Aboard him; and immediately after, the Fleet got into the *North-foreland*; upon which the Prince gave the usual sign of Danger, and ordered that the Fleet should all come up in a Body, some fifteen or sixteen Deep, His Highness leading the Van, in the Ship called the *Bril*, His Flag being *English* Colours, and the Motto Impaled thereon, *The Protestant Religion, and Liberties of England*; and underneath, instead of *Dieu & Mon Droit*, *And I will Maintain it*.

The Council of War from Aboard the Prince, sent three small Frigats into the mouth of the *Thames*, who upon their return, brought word that the *English* Fleet lay at the *Buoy of the Nore*, consisting of Thirty four Sail, besides two in the *Downs*; the Wind continuing at East North-East.

Thereupon the Prince immediately gave Order by a Signal, for stretching the whole Fleet in a Line from *Dover*

to

to *Calice*, Twenty five Deep, so that the Fleet reach'd within a League of each Place, the Flanks and Rear being guarded by the Men of War ; which was a Ravishing sight to have seen ; the Drums and Trumpets beating and sounding for three hours together. Immediately after the Prince gave a Signal to close, and the Fleet sailed that night as far as *Beachy*, following the Signal by the Lights that were hung out to them ; and according to Command, that all the small Sail should come up to the Prince by Morning.

By Morning we espy'd the Isle of *Wight*, and then the Prince commanded the Fleet to be drawn into the same Posture as is before related, though not stretching half Channel over in this place. About five in the Morning we made the Start, the Wind chopping about to the Westward. Upon which we stood fair by *Dartmouth*, and so made for *Torbay* ; where the Prince ordered the whole Fleet again into the same Posture as at *Dover* and *Calice*.

Upon

Upon his arrival before *Torbay*, the People on Land in great Numbers, welcom'd his Highness with loud Acclamations of Joy.

Immediately after the Prince gave two Signals for the Admirals to come on board him, which they did; and then order'd that the whole Fleet should come to an Anchor, and Land immediately; with further Orders, that the Admirals should stand out at Sea, as a Guard, and the smaller men of War attend and guard their Landing; beside, six men of War that were order'd to run in and guard *Torbay* it self.

The Prince then put out a Red Flag, at the Mizen-yard-arm, and prepar'd to Land in Sixty boats which were laid ready for the purpose; the Little Porpus, a Ship of Eighteen Guns, being order'd to run a ground to secure their Landing. But there was no Opposition. General *Mackay* with his Six Regiments of English and Scotch, having orders to Land first, and, as all the rest, were heartily welcom'd into *England* and furnish'd with all manner of Provisions for their Refreshment.

The

The News of the Prince's being landed was brought to the City of *Exeter*, by several Expresses to the Earl of *Bath*. Upon which Captain *Hicks* came to the City; where as soon as he appear'd, the meaner sort of People flockt to him in very great Numbers to list themselves in the service of the Prince of *Orange*. Which the Mayor of the City hearing, sent for him, and ask'd him, Whether he had any Commission for what he was doing? And because he refus'd to produce any, order'd him to be sent to prison: but the Concourse of People was so great, about the Guild-Hall, that they would not suffer him to be carried away, so that he remain'd in the same place in the Custody of two Constables. But the next day the Lord *Mordant*, and Dr. *Burnet* with him, arriv'd at the City, with Three or Four Troops of Horse; where finding the Gate of the City shut against them, the Lord *Mordant* commanded the Porter to open it upon pain of Death. Upon which it was set open; and being open, upon the same Penalty the Porter was requir'd not to shut it again. As soon

as

as they were enter'd, the Lord *Mordant* march'd to the Hall and set Captain *Hicks* at Liberty: and the same day the Lord *Mordant*, with Dr. *Burnet*, went to the Mayor to know if he would meet the Prince at the Gate, and Govern the City under Him? Which the Mayor excus'd, as being under the obligation of an Oath to the King, and therefore desir'd the Prince would lay no commands upon him to the prejudice of his Conscience.

Friday the Prince, with his Guards, march'd into the City, and was lodg'd in the Deans House. Afterwards follow'd the main Body of the Army; of which the Horse march'd to *Tiverton*, *Culhampton*, *Honyton*, &c. and the Neighbouring Parishes, while the Foot were Encamp'd upon *Clift* Heath. The *Sunday* following, Dr. *Burnet* preach'd at the Cathedral; and the next day, in the Forenoon, all the Canons were summon'd to appear in the Quire, together with the Singing Men, at what time, after *Te Deum* had been Sung, Dr. *Burnet* read the Prince's Declaration, containing the Reasons inducing him to appear in Arms
in

in the Kingdom of *England*, for preserving of the Protestant Religion, and for restoring the Laws and Liberties of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Setting forth in the first place,

THAT the publick Peace and Happiness of any State or Kingdom could not be preserv'd, where the Laws, Liberties and Customs establish'd, by the Lawful Authority, in it, are openly transgress'd and annull'd. More especially, where the alteration of Religion is endeavour'd; and that a Religion, contrary to the Law, is endeavour'd to be introduc'd. Upon which those, who are most immediately concern'd in it, are indispensably bound to endeavour to preserve and maintain the establish'd Laws, Liberties and Customs, and above all the Religion and Worship of God that is established among them: and to take effectual care, that the Inhabitants of the said State or Kingdom may neither be depriv'd of their Religion nor their Civil Rights.

Upon which undeniable grounds he found that those in credit with the King, had overturn'd the Religion, Laws and

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Liberties of His Three Kingdoms, and subjected them to Arbitrary Government, in all things, relating as well to their Consciences, as to their Liberties and Properties.

That the same Evil Counsellors had set on Foot a pretended dispensing Power in the King, to suspend and dispense with the execution of Laws, that had been Enacted by the Authority of the King and Parliament, for the security and happiness of the Subject; tho' it were certain, that Laws Enacted by the King and Parliament cannot be repeal'd but by the same Authority.

That the same Evil Counsellors had, by indirect means, obtain'd from a Set of Judges, pickt and cull'd to serve their ends, a Sentence declaring the Dispensing Power to be a Right belonging to the Crown. And that they had rais'd to those Trusts, some persons that made open profession of the Popish Religion, tho' by the Law incapable of those Employments.

That notwithstanding the King, at his coming to the Crown, had solemnly sworn to maintain the Subject in the free

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enjoyment of their Laws and Liberties, and particularly to maintain the Church of *England*: notwithstanding that several Laws, had been Enacted, for the preservation of those Rights and Liberties, and the Protestant Religion, yet those Evil Counsellors had in effect abolish'd all those Laws.

That they had erected a Court, without any colour of Law, consisting of a certain number of Persons, to take cognizance of all Ecclesiastical matters, of which number there was One who made publick Profession of the Popish Religion. Which said Commissioners had suspended the Bishop of *London*, meerly for refusing to silence a worthy Divine, without so much as Citing him before him to make his own Defence; and had turn'd out the President, and afterwards all the Fellows of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, for refusing to Elect a President that was recommended to them at the Instigation of those Evil Counsellors.

That contrary to the expresse Laws, against Churches and Chappels, for the exercise of the Popish Religion, the

same Evil Counsellors had procur'd to be erected several Monasteries and Colleges of Jesuits, in several Places, and had advanc'd one of the Jesuitical Order, to be a Privy Counsellor and Minister of State.

That they follow'd the same Methods, with relation to the Civil Affairs, turning out of their Commissions, all such Civil and Military Officers, as would not concur with the King in the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws.

That they had invaded the Privileges, and seiz'd into their Hands, the Franchises and Charters of most of those Towns that had right of Electing Burgeses for Parliament; displacing the Protestant Magistrates, and setting up Papists in their Rooms.

That they had put the whole Government of *Ireland* into the Hands of Papists, and had prevail'd with the King to assume absolute Power in *Scotland*.

That the same Evil Counsellors had endeavour'd to make all men apprehend the Loss of their Lives, Liberties, Estates and Honors, by their Proceedings against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the

the other Bishops, as Criminals, only for setting forth their Reasons why they could not obey an Order sent them, at the Instigation of those Evil Counsellors, requiring them to appoint their Clergy to read the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

That the same Evil Counsellors had endeavour'd to alienate the Affections of the King from his Highness, and his most entirely beloved Consort the Princess, for having signified, in terms full of respect, to the King the just and deep suspicion, which all these Proceedings gave them, as if they had design'd to disturb the Quiet and Happiness of the Nation.

That the last and great Remedy for all those Evils would be the calling of a Parliament. But that those Evil Counsellors apprehending that a Lawful Parliament would call them to an Accompt, for all their open Violation's of the Law, &c. had so order'd their Affairs in all the Counties of *England*, that the People could not expect a Free Parliament Legally call'd and chosen; seeing there was no probability for the future, but

that all Elections would be carried by the Fraud or Force of those Evil Counsellors, who had already caus'd one Parliament to be dissolv'd, when they found that neither by Promises nor Threats they could prevail with the Members to comply with their wicked Designs.

That to Crown all, those Evil Counsellors had publish'd that the Queen had brought forth a Son: tho' during the Queens pretended Bigness, and in the manner in which the Birth was manag'd, so many just and visible grounds of suspicion appear'd, that not only their Royal Highnesses, but all the Good Subjects of the Three Kingdoms did vehemently suspect, that the pretended Prince of *Wales* was not born of the Queen.

Seeing therefore Her Royal Highness, and himself, had so great an Interest in the matter; and such a Right, as all the World knew, to the Succession to the Crown. Since the *English* also, in the year 1672. when the *States-General* of the *United Provinces* were invaded with a most unjust War, us'd their utmost endeavours to put an end to that War,

in

in opposition to those that were in the Government, and by so doing ran the hazard of losing both the favour of the Court and their Employments; and since the English Nation had ever testified a most particular Affection and Esteem both to Her Royal Highness, and Himself; His Highness could not excuse himself from espousing the Interests of the English Nation, and from contributing all that in him lay for the maintaining of the Protestant Religion, and securing to them the continual enjoyment of all their just Rights. To the doing of which he was most earnestly solicited by a great many Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and Subjects of all Ranks.

For which reason it was that he had thought fit to come over into *England*, and to carry with Him a Force sufficient, by the Blessing of God, to defend him from the violence of those Evil Counsellors. Declaring, withal, that his Expedition was intended for no other Design, but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament Assembled; and to that end that all the old Charters might be resto-

red. Promising further, to concur in every thing that might procure the Peace and Happiness of the Nation, which a Free and Lawful Parliament should determine. In the last place, requiring all Persons whatsoever, all the Peers of the Realm both Spiritual and Temporal, all Lords Lieutenants, &c. to come and assist him, in order to the executing his Design, for prevention of all the Miseries which must needs fall upon the Nation, being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery: And declaring his Resolution, also, for the settlement of *Scotland*, and that in *Ireland* the Protestant Religion, and British Interest might be secur'd.

After this His Highness was pleas'd to publish another short Declaration; setting forth,

THAT whereas the subverters of the Laws and Religion of these Three Kingdoms, out of a sense of their Guilt, and distrust of their Force, had offer'd to the City of *London*, some seeming Relief from their great Oppressions, in hopes to divert them from
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‘demanding a secure Re-establishment
‘of their Religion and Laws under the
‘shelter of His Highness’s Arms; and
‘gave out that His Highness intend’d to
‘Conquer and Enslave the Nation;

‘His Highness was confident, that no
‘persons could have such hard thoughts
‘of him, seeing that as the Forces which
‘he had brought along with him were
‘utterly disproportionable to the wick-
‘ed design of a Conquest; so the great
‘Numbers of the principal Nobility and
‘Gentry, men of eminent Quality and
‘Estates, and of no less known Integri-
‘ty and Zeal, both for the Protestant
‘Religion and Government of *England*,
‘resorting to him, would cover him
‘from all such malicious Insinuations.

His Highness had been now some days
in *England*, and expected that those
Gentlemen who resided nearest his
Head Quarters should have joyn’d him
with the soonest; which as it could not
choose but be some discouragement to
Him at the first; so he was pleas’d to
take notice of that slackness to some
Principal Gentlemen of *Somersetshire*
and

and Dorsetshire, who nevertheless came in to him at length while he lay at Exeter, to whom he delivered himself thus in short.

THough we know not all your Persons, yet we have a Catalogue of your Names, and remember the Character of your Worth and Interest in your Country. You see we are come according to your Invitation and our Promise. Our Duty to God obliges us to protect the Protestant Religion; and our Love to Mankind, your Liberties and Properties. We expected that you that dwelt so near the place of our Landing, would have joyned us sooner; not that it is now too late, nor that we want your Military Assistance, so much as your Countenance and Presence, to justify our declared Pretensions, rather than accomplish our good and gracious Designs. Though we have brought both a good Fleet, and a good Army to render these Kingdoms Happy, by rescuing all Protestants from Popery, Slavery and Arbitrary Power, by restoring them to their Rights and Properties established by Law, and by promoting Peace and Trade, which is the Soul of Govern-

Government, and the very Life and Blood of a Nation; yet we rely more upon the Goodness of God, and the Justice of our Cause, then on any Humane Force or Power whatever. Yet since God is pleased, we shall make use of Humane Means, and not expect Miracles for our Preservation and Happiness, let us not neglect making use of this Gracious Opportunity, but with Prudence and Courage put in Execution our so honourable Purposes.

Therefore Gentlemen, Friends and Fellow-Protestants, we bid you all and your Followers heartily welcome to our Court and Camp. Let the whole World now judge if our Pretentions are not Just, Generous, Sincere, and above Price; since we might have even a Bridge of Gold to return back. But it is our Principle and Resolution, rather to dye in a Good Cause, than live in a bad one, well knowing that Vertue and true Honour is its own Reward, and the Happiness of Mankind our great and only Design.

Nor was His Highness less mindful to signify his Noble, Sincere and Generous Intentions to the English Army,
which

which for the Generality had already discovered the little mind they had to signalize their Valour against their Fellow-Protestants, to the Destruction of the Laws and Religion of their Country. For which reason, His Highness sent them the following Letter.

Gentlemen and Friends,

WE have given you so full and so true an account of our Intentions in this Expedition, in our Declaration, that as we can add nothing to it, so we are sure you can desire nothing more of us. We are come to preserve your Religion, and to restore and establish your Liberties and Properties; and therefore we cannot suffer our selves to doubt, but that all true English men will come and concur with us in our Desire, to secure these Nations from Popery and Slavery. You may all plainly see, that you are only made use of as Instruments to Enslave the Nation, and Ruin the Protestant Religion; and when that is done, you may judge what you your selves ought to expect, both from the Cashiering of all the Protestant and English Officers in Ireland, and by the Irish Souldiers being brought over

to

to be put in their places; of which you have seen so fresh an Instance, that we need not put you in mind of it. You know how many of your Fellow Officers have been used, for their standing firm to the Protestant Religion, and to the Laws of England; and you cannot flatter your selves so far, as to expect to be better used, if those who have broke their words to others, should by your means be brought out of those streights to which they are reduced at present. We hope likewise that you will not suffer your selves to be abused by a false Notion of Honour; but that you will in the first place consider what you owe to Almighty God and your Religion, to your Country, to your selves and your Posterity; which you, as Men of Honour, ought to prefer above all private Considerations and Engagements whatever. We do therefore expect the Honour which is now set before you, of being the Instruments of serving your Country, and securing your Religion; and we will ever remember the Service you shall do us upon this Occasion; and will promise you, that we shall place such particular marks of our Favour upon every one of you, as your Behaviour at this time

time shall deserve of us and the Nation; in which we shall make a great distinction of those that shall come in seasonably to joyn their Arms with ours, &c.

This occasioned the King to set forth a Proclamation,

T*hat whereas the Prince, and his Adherents, had contrived several Treasonable Papers and Declarations to seduce the People, therefore all Persons, of what Degree or Quality soever, were forewarned and admonished neither to Publish, Disperse, nor to have or read any of those Papers, without discovering them to the next Magistrate upon peril of the utmost Severity of the Law.*

To the same Purpose also Admiral Herbert, well understanding the Inclinations of the Commanders and Seamen Aboard the English Fleet, sent them the ensuing Letter.

Gentlemen,

I*Have little to add to what His Highness has expressed in general Terms, besides laying before you the dangerous way you are in at the present, where Ruin or Infamy must inevitably attend you if you do*

do not joyn with the Prince in the Common Cause, for the Defence of your Religion and Liberties. For should it please God, for the Sins of the English Nation, to suffer your Arms to prevail, to what can your Victory serve you, but to Enslave you Deeper, and overthrow the True Religion, in which you have lived and your Fathers died? Of which I beg you, as a Friend, to consider the Consequences, and to reflect on the Blot and Infamy it will bring on you, not only now, but in all after Ages: That by your means the Protestant Religion was Destroyed, and the Country deprived of its Ancient Liberties. And if it pleases God to Bless the Prince's Endeavours with Success, as I doubt not but he will; consider then what their Condition will be, that oppose him in this so good a Design, where the greatest Favour they can hope for, is their being suffered to end their days in Misery and Want, Detested and Despised by all Good Men.

It is therefore, and for many more Reasons, too long to insert here, that I, as a True English man, and your Friend, exhort you to joyn your Arms with the Prince, for the Defence of the Common Cause, the
Pro-

Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of your Country. It is, I am well assured, no more then what the Major and best part of the Army will do, as well as the rest of the Nation, so soon as Convenience is offer'd. Prevent them in so good an Action while it is in your Power, and make it appear, That as the Kingdom has always depended upon the Navy for its Defence, so you will yet go farther, by making it as much as in you lies, the Protection of her Religion and Liberties, and then you may assure your selves of all marks of Favour and Honour, suitable to the Merits of so Great and Glorious an Action. What Effects these Letters had, both upon the Army and Sea-men, in a short time afterwards appeared.

In the mean time, though His Highness was, in a manner, all alone for some few days, yet afterwards he found his Numbers increase to his Satisfaction. Out of *Buckingham-shire*, the Lord Colchester and Mr. Wharton with a good Party, marching through *Oxford*, got safe to His Highness's Camp. Out of *Oxfordshire* the Lord Lovelace got as far

as Cirencester, where he was unfortunately stopped by the County Troop; but though he was taken himself and carried to Gloucester, yet the whole Party that followed him, except some Four or Five that were Killed and Wounded in the Scuffle, got safe to the Prince.

In *Cheshire* the Lord *Delamere* raised a considerable Force, and coming to *Nottingham*, delivered himself in the following Words at the Head of his Troops.

THE occasion of this, is to give you my thoughts upon the present Conjunction, which concerns not only you, but every True Protestant, and Free Born Man of England, that wishes well to the Protestant Religion and his Country; and, I am perswaded, that every one of you thinks both in Danger, and now to lye at Stake. I am also perswaded, that every one of you will rejoyce to see Religion and Property settled: And if so, I am not mistaken in my Conjectures concerning you. Can you ever hope for a better oc-
M cation

casion to Root out Popery and Slavery, then by joyning with the Prince of Orange, whose Proposals contain and speak the Desires of every man that loves his Religion and Liberty? And in saying this, I will invite you to nothing but what I will do my self; I will not desire you to move any farther then I will move my self; neither will I put you upon any Danger, where I will not take a share in it: No man can love Fighting for its own sake, nor find any pleasure in Danger: And you may imagine I would be very glad to spend the rest of my days in Peace, I having had so great a share in Troubles. But I see all lies at Stake; I am to choose whether I will be a Slave and a Papist, or a Protestant and a Free-man. And therefore the case being thus, I should think my self false to my Country, should I sit still at this time. I am of opinion, that when the Nation is delivered, it must either be by Force or by Miracle. It would be too great a Presumption to expect the latter, and therefore our Deliverance must be by Force, and I hope this is now the time for it.

If the King prevails, farewell Liberty of Conscience, which has hitherto been allowed, not for the sake of the Protestants, but in order to settle Popery. You may easily see what to expect if he get the better, since he has lately given you of this Town a taste of the Method whereby he will maintain his Army. And you may see of what sort of People he intends his Army shall consist. And therefore if you have not a mind to serve such Masters, stand not by and see your Country-men perish, when they are endeavouring to defend you.

I promise this on my Word and Honour, to every Tenant that goes along with me, that if he fall, I will make his Lease as good to his Family, as it was when he went from home, &c.

These Generous Encouragements so warmed the Hearts of his Followers, that they resolved to live and dye with him; so that his Lordship kept himself ready in those Parts, accompanied with all the Nobility whose Estates lay in the adjacent Counties; and a great number of Gentry ready upon all occasions;

what with those Gentlemen and their Followers, with his own Forces, near 6000 strong in Horse.

In the North, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Danby*, together with the Lord *Fairfax*, and several other Persons of Quality, took Possession of *York*, and securing the City for His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, turned out the Lord Mayor, and such other of the Magistrates as were either Papists or Popishly affected; and reduced that City to its former Government.

Hull was also surprized by the Deputy-Governour upon the third of *December*, after this manner: At Nine of the Clock at Night, the Guards being set, and the *Tattoo* pass'd, the Deputy-Governour, according to his Duty, was preparing to go the Rounds, but the Lord *Langdale* the Governour forbid him; saying, That he had appointed the Lord *Montgomery* and Major *Fountain*, two Popish Officers, to go the Rounds that Night. Which occasioned very high words; and after a little time the Deputy-Governour departed, but with a Jealousie that the Popish Officers, who

who were more numerous then the Protestants, had an Intention of Rising that night. Which caused him to go, and secretly consult all the Protestant-Officers, well knowing that the Townsmen, and all the Sea-men in the Harbour would be of his side, as having for a long time had a Jealousie of the Governour. The Result of which Consultation was, That all the Souldiers should be drawn together out of their Quarters, with all possible Speed and Privacy: Which was done accordingly with that Success, that by Ten of the Clock that Night, they seized upon all the Guards, made the Lord *Langdale*, the Lord *Montgomery* (the Marquess of *Powis's* Son) whose Regiment was in the Town, and several other Papists, Prisoners. Which done, the Deputy-Governour raised the Town to his Assistance; so that the Rabble presently fell upon the Mass-house, and all the Houses of the Papists in Town, which they Ransack'd and Demolish'd by three in the Morning. So soon as day broke, a Party was sent over the Bridge to seize the Castle, which they

did accordingly, together with the two Block-houses and the Citadel, which all the Night before was commanded by a Confident of the Governours, one *Maurice Wynn* a Lieutenant, formerly a Linnen-Draper in *Cheapside*. In this new Citadel was a Magazine well stor'd with Powder and all sorts of Arms, as also a Train of Artillery, ready to be drawn out into the Field.

The next Morning the Shops continued shut up, all the Bells were set a Ringing, and the Prince of Orange's Colours put upon the High Church, and other publick places.

In the Evening, the Lord *Langdale*, the late Governour, with his two Men, were guarded out of Town, to prevent the Mischiefs threatned him by the Rabble: And the same Evening came into the Town Sir *Michael Wharton*, Sir *Ralph Wharton*, Colonel *Alured*, and many of the Neighbouring Gentry, to advise what was next to be done, who ordered the raising of the adjacent Militia, and that in the mean time the Souldiers should joyn with the Town Train'd-Bands in Watching. And thus
was

was *Hull*, one of the strongest Garrisons of *England*, reduc'd under the Obedience of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*.

In *Devonshire* the Right Honorable the Earl of *Bath*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, and Governor of the Town and Royal Citadel of *Plimouth*, wherein the Earl of *Huntington* was in Garrison, with his Regiment of Foot, having resolv'd, and laid the methods for securing that Place, for his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, first seiz'd the Earl of *Huntington*, then seiz'd and secur'd all the Popish Officers and Soldiers. This being done upon the *Saturday*, the *Munday* following, his Lordship commanded the whole Garrison to be drawn up in Body, within the Citadel, and after Silence Proclaim'd, the Prince of *Oranges* first and second Declaration were read. At the conclusion whereof, the Officers and Soldiers unanimously, with loud and repeated Acclamations, assented thereto; declaring, *They would live and dye with the Prince, and his Lordship, in the defence of the said Declarations.*

At the same time, also *Pendennis*, *St. Maw's*, *Truro*, *Bodmyn*, and most of the *Sea-Port Towns* in the County of *Cornwal*, declar'd for the Prince.

On the other side, to begin from the first dawning of this suddain Revolution, it was a strange thing to observe the disturbance and distraction of the Court. All ways were try'd to sooth up the People, and make up the Breaches of those violences which they had committed. A Proclamation was issued forth for a Free Parliament; which was to be call'd when the Court was deliver'd from their fears, by the return or defeat of the Prince; and to shew the King's real intentions, the Country-Corporation Franchises were sent back to the several Towns from whence they had been taken. And the Chancellor, who when he was Lord Chief Justice, gave Sentence against the Charter of *London*, when Men of more Law, and less preceptancy refus'd to do it, was forc'd to make two Journies into the City, two days one after the other, to restore it again; and now several of the Writs were Seal'd. But these Lures not

taking, another Proclamation was put forth to recal those Writs again. However the Court went on to distribute their Sugarplums among the People: and first, the Bishop of *London* was discharg'd from his Suspension. The Vacancy of the Archbishop of *York* was supply'd with a Protestant Archbishop. The *Magdalen* College Gentlemen, but a little before, the most Mutinous, Disobedient and Factious persons in the World, and therefore expell'd the College, as not fit to live in a Civil Society, are all restored in *Statu Quo*: And the Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs, the Authority of which was not to be question'd before, was now declar'd to be dissolv'd and the Seal broken. As if the Court had done what they did, only to exercise the Nation, like Soldiers in the Artillery-ground, To the Right, to the Left, this way and that way; but after all, by the Rules of Discipline, at length the Commander is forc'd to cry *as you were*, to reduce them to their first Order.

Then to shew how little the Prince of *Orange* had to do in this Kingdom,
where

where there was a Young Male Heir in Being, under the Title of the *Prince of Wales*, the King sends for the Queen Dowager, and the Peers of the Kingdom, both Spiritual and Temporal; as also for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, and Judges, and the Kings Council; and thus deliver'd himself to them,

I Have call'd ye together upon a very extraordinary occasion. But extraordinary Diseases must have extraordinary Remedies. The malicious endeavours of my Enemies, have so poyson'd the minds of some of my Subjects; that by the reports I have from all hands, I have reason to believe, That very many do think this Son, with which God has blest me, to be none of mine, but a supposed Child. But, I may say, that by a particular Providence, scarce any Prince was ever born, where there were so many persons present.

I have taken this time to have the matter heard and examin'd here, expecting that the Prince of Orange, with the first Easterly wind, will invade this Kingdom, and therefore I thought it necessary to have it

it now done, in order to satisfy the minds of My Subjects, and to prevent this Kingdoms being engag'd in Blood and Confusion after my Death, &c.

But the Lords were so well satisfied of the Persons that were to Swear, and the Validity of the *Affidavits*, very few or hardly any but Papists, and such as either had their Employments and Dependances upon the Court, of whom many are since fled, or under imprisonment, or else notorious Papists that would not scruple to Swear any thing for the Good of the Popish Church: Or Doctors and Potheccaries, who having no more Religion then *Religio Medici*, would not stick for a Twelve-peny Affidavit to keep their Places. And for the Female Sex, among whom there was one Bedchamber Woman that wrote as her Mark an X for *Turini*, and others so obscure, that they were scarce ever heard of before; they were all under the same tyes of Popish Bigotry and Private Advantage; I say the Lords were so well satisfied of all this, that they said nothing, but reserv'd their thoughts

thoughts at that time to themselves, having already declared their Opinions to the Prince of Orange upon this Subject.

The Evil Counsellors therefore, of whom the Chancellor, according to the Language of the Spiritual Commission, was always to be one, were at their Wits end. But in the mean time the King makes all the Provision for War imaginable. And while the Drums are beating up for Souldiers, and Preparations of Arms go forward, Proclamations upon Proclamations are issued forth; in some of which, the Evil Counsellors (of whom the Lord Chancellor to be always one) endeavour to possess the People, that nothing but an Invasion was intended, and an Absolute Conquest of the Kingdom, under the specious but false Pretences of Maintaining the Protestant Religion.

In another, The People are required to remove all their Horses, Oxen and Cattle that might be fit for Draught, at least twenty Miles from the place where the Enemy should attempt to Land, to prevent their being seized

seized to the Use and Service of the Prince.

In another, *Exeter* Fair was Prohibited, and all other Fairs usually kept at that time, for twenty Miles round about the City, to prevent ill-disposed Persons from repairing to the Prince of *Orange*, under pretence of going to the said Fairs.

But that which was thought most Expedient of all, was to issue forth a Proclamation, Promising Free Pardon to all that Deserted the Prince, and surrendered themselves to any of the Kings Officers, Civil or Military, within so many days: Which Opportunity, if they neglected, they were never to expect any Pardon hereafter.

But all this was to little or no Effect; and therefore the King, upon the News that the Prince was at Sea, and not knowing where to oppose him, yet not thinking it safe to divide his Forces, drew his Army together upon *Hounslow-Heath*, to keep them in a Body. But understanding the Prince was Landed in the West, he ordered his Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Fever-sham*,

sham, to march Westward, which they did as far as *Salisbury*, where they made a Halt, and whither the King followed them soon after himself in Person; but to no other Effect, then only to behold the general Dis-affection of the People to his Army, who would neither bring them in Provision, nor willingly allow them Quarters, but in many places pull'd down their Signs, because they would not be obliged to receive them into their Houses. Neither indeed was he assured of his English, who began to mutter their unwillingness to Fight against the Prince of *Orange*. So that upon a Rumour of Count *Schomberg's* approach within twenty Miles of *Salisbury*, he made all the haste he could back to *London*; whither he was no sooner come, but he found that Prince *George* was gone to the Prince of *Orange*, and that his Daughter, the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*, had withdrawn herself, and that the Duke of *Ormond* and the Lord *Churchil* had forsaken him. Prince *George* excused his Departure in the following Lines.

SIR,

S I R,

WITH a Heart full of Grief and I forced to write that which Prudence will not permit me to say to your Face. And may I ever find Credit with your Majesty, and Protection from Heaven, as what I now do is free from Passion, Vanity or Design, with which Actions of this Nature are too often accompanied. I am not ignorant of the frequent Mischiefs wrought in the World by Factions Pretensions of Religion; but were not Religion the most Justifiable Cause, it would not be made the most specious Pretence. And Your Majesty has always shewn too uninterested a Sense of Religion, to doubt the Just Effects of it in one whose Practices have, I hope, never given the World cause to censure his real Conviction of it, or his Backwardness to perform what Honour and Conscience prompt him too. How then can I longer disguise my just concern for that Religion in which I have been so happily Educated, which my Judgment thoroughly Convinces me to be the best; and for the support of which I am so highly interested in my Native Country? And is
not

not England now, by the Dearest Tye, become so?

While the restless Spirits of the Enemies of the Reformed Religion, back'd by the Cruel Zeal and Prevailing Power of France, justly Alarum and Unite all the Protestant Princes of Christendom, and ingage them in so Vast an Expence for the Support thereof; can I Act so Dangerous and Mean a Part, as to deny my Concurrence to such Worthy Endeavours for disabusing Your Majesty, by the Reinforcement of those Laws, and Establishment of the Government, on which alone depends the Well-being of Your Majesty, and of the Protestant Religion in Europe? This, Sir, is that irresistible and only Cause that could come in competition with my Duty and Obligations to Your Majesty, and be able to tear me from You, while the same affectionate Desire of Serving You continues in me. Could I secure Your Person by the Hazard of my Life, I should think it could not better be employed. And would to God these Your Distracted Kingdoms might yet receive that Satisfactory compliance from Your Majesty in all their justifiable Pretensions, as might, upon the
only

only sure Foundation, which is that of the Love and Interest of Your Subjects, Establish Your Government, &c.

The Lord Churchill sent his Apology to the King in the ensuing Lines.

S I R,

Since Men are seldom suspected to want Sincerity, when they act contrary to their Interests; and though my dutiful Behaviour to Your Majesty in the worst of Times (for which I acknowledge my poor Services much over-paid) may not be sufficient to incline You to a charitable Opinion of my Actions; yet I hope the great Advantage I enjoy under Your Majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of Government, may reasonably convince Your Majesty and the World, that I am acted by a higher Principle, when I offer that Violence to my Nature and Interest, as to desert Your Majesty at a time when Your Affairs seem to challenge the strictest Obedience from all Your Subjects, much more from one who lies under the Greatest Personal Obligations imaginable to Your Majesty. This, Sir, could proceed from no-
N *thing*

thing but the inviolable Dictates of my Conscience, and a necessary concern for my Religion, which no good man can oppose, and with which I am instructed nothing ought to come in Competition. Heaven knows with what Partiality my Dutiful Opinion of Your Majesty hath hitherto represented those unhappy Designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against Your Majesties true Interest, and the Protestant Religion. But as I can no longer joyn with such, to give a pretence by Conquest to bring them to Effect, so will I always, with the Hazard of my Life and Fortune (so much Your Majesties due) endeavour to preserve Your Majesties Royal Person and Lawful Rights, &c.

But the Princess Ann of Denmark thought it more requisite to give the Reasons of her leaving Whitehall to the Queen, which she did with all observance and Submission, according to her usual Temper, in these words.

MADAM,

MADAM,

I BEG Your Pardon if I am so deeply affected with the surprizing News of the Prince's being gone, as not to be able to see You, but to leave this Paper to express my humble Duty to the King and Your self, and to let You know, that I am gone to absent my self, to avoid the King's Displeasure, which I am not able to bear, either against the Prince or my self. And I shall stay at so great a distance, as not to return before I hear the happy News of a Reconcilement. And as I am confident the Prince did not leave the King with any other Design, then to use all possible means for his Preservation; so I hope You will do me the Justice, to believe I am incapable of following him for any other end. Never was any one in such an unhappy Condition, so divided between Duty and Affection, to a Father and a Husband, and therefore I know not what to do, but to follow one to preserve the other. I see the general falling off of the Nobility and Gentry, who avow to have no other end, then to prevail with the King, to secure their Religion, which they saw

so much in danger by the violent Counsels of the Priests; who to promote their own Religion, did not care to what Dangers they exposed the King. I am fully persuaded that the Prince of Orange designs the King's Safety and Preservation, and hope all things may be composed without more Bloodshed, by the calling a Parliament. God grant a happy end to these Troubles, &c.

The Princess being got clear of *Whitehall*, hastened to *Nottingham*, where she was received by the Lord *Delamere*, and lodged in the Castle, being attended by a Guard of Gentlemen of Great Quality, under the Command of the Lord Bishop of *London*; who when all the Kingdom was in Arms, chose rather to serve in a Military Employment than lye Idle.

These were the Desertions only of his nearest Relations and Friends, which though of great Importance, were not so terrible as the falling off of whole Regiments of the chieft of his English Horse and Foot; the Lord *Cornbury* leading the way with the Horse, and

and the Duke of Grafton following with the Foot.

And now the Prince of Orange being by this time arrived at *Hungerford*, and keeping his Court and Head Quarters at *Lithcot-House*, a Paper was delivered to His Highness, Signed by the Marquess of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham* and the Lord *Godolphin*, Commissioners appointed to 'Treat with His Highness, setting forth the King's Inclination to come to a Composure; together with some certain Proposals Preliminary to such a Treaty: The whole very short in these.

S I R,

THE King commands us to acquaint you, That he observes all the Differences and Causes of Complaint alledged by Your Highness, seem to be referred to a Free Parliament.

His Majesty, as he has already declared, was resolved before this to call one, but thought, that in the present State of Affairs, it was advisable to defer it, till things were more composed.

Yet seeing that his People still continue to desire it, He has put forth His Proclamation in order to it, and has issued forth His Writs for the calling of it.

And to prevent any cause of Interruption in it, He will consent to every thing that can be reasonably required, for the Security of those that shall come to it.

His Majesty has therefore sent us to attend Your Highness, for the adjusting of all Matters that shall be agreed to be necessary to the Freedom of Elections, and the Security of Sitting, and is ready immediately to enter into a Treaty in order to it.

His Majesty Proposes, That in the mean time the Armies may be restrained within such Limits, and at such a distance from London, as may prevent the Apprehensions that the Parliament may be in, of being any way disturbed, being desired that the Meeting of it may be no longer delay'd, then it must be by the usual Forms.

In Answer to which, His Highness, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen, made the following Proposals.

That

THAT all Papists, and such Persons who were not qualified by Law, might be Disarm'd, Disbanded, and removed from all Employments Civil and Military.

That all Proclamations which reflected upon His Highness, or any that came with him, or declared for him, might be recalled; and if any Persons for having so assisted, had been committed, that they might be forthwith set at Liberty.

That, for the Security and Safety of the City of London, the Custody and Government of the Tower be immediately put into the hands of the said City.

That if His Majesty should think fit to be at London, during the Sitting of the Parliament, that His Highness might be there also, with an equal Number of his Guards.

Or if His Majesty should please to be in any place from London, at whatever distance he thought fit, that His Highness might be at a place of the same distance.

And that the Respective Armies should remove from London Thirty miles; and that no more Foreign Forces should be brought into the Kingdom.

That, For the Security of the City of London, and their Trade, Tilbury-Fort should be put into the hands of the City.

That, To prevent the Landing of French, or other Foreign Troops, Portsmouth might be put into such hands, as by His Majesty and His Highness should be agreed upon.

That some sufficient part of the Publick Revenue might be assign'd His Highness, for maintaining his Forces till the Meeting of a Free Parliament.

By these Proposals, the King must have been forced to part with his beloved *Irish*, surrendred up the chiefeſt Magazines and Forts of his Kingdom; and which was worſt of all, muſt have paid the Inſtruments that forced him to that Compliance. So that the Prince's Propositions being no way pleaſing at Court, the Lords Commiſſioners returned without ſo much as coming to a Hearing.

In the mean time *Glouceſter* was ſeiz'd, and the Lord *Lovelace* ſet at Liberty by one *Mr. Perk*, a Valiant Young Gentleman, under twenty Years of Age, and ſecond Son to a Gentleman living

living near *Gloucester*, who drawing together a small Party of the Townsmen well arm'd, with a more then ordinary Resolution, marched to the Sign of the Bell, where he found *Fowler* the Mayor, and one of the Aldermen, whose Name was *Wagstaff*, both Papists; at what time the Priest that belonged to the Mass-House, and four Irish Dragoons were just come to Town; who upon the approach of Mr. *Perk*, shut the Doors and stood upon their Guard. But Mr. *Perk* causing his Men to Fire through the Doors, wounded one of the Teagues in the Shoulder, upon which the rest surrendred, *Wagstaff* got away out of a Back-window, but the rest were secured by the young Captain in the House.

By this time the whole City was alarum'd, upon a Report that some Irish Dragoons were coming to fetch away the Lord *Lovelace*.

In the mean time, Mr. *Perk* with another Party march'd to the Castle, where the Centinel shut the Gates against him, but a few Threats, and the Firing but of one Pistol made them open them.

And

And now the Lord *Lovelace* being acquainted with what had pass'd, was soon a Horse-back with his own Men; and so with Mr. *Perk's* Party rode out of the Town to the Hills, where, it was said, that Squire *How* with a Party of Horse were ready for their Assistance; but missing them, his Lordship went to a small House which he Rents upon the Hills, where Mr. *Perk* left his Lordship, and returned to *Gloucester*, which was all in Mutiny and Disorder. The first thing he did, was to send the Mayor with a Guard home, the Priests and the Irish Officers to the North-Gate Prison; and then returned to the Lord *Lovelace*, whence, with a very small Party of Horse, he march'd to Squire *Chamberlain's*, the present High-Sheriff, and brought away all his Horses and Arms.

All this while the Rabble in the City kept stirring all Night, pull'd down the Mass-House, burn'd the Pulpit, and all the Trinkets and Materials, and demolish'd some Papists Houses; while others went out of Town to Sir ----- *Compton's* a Popish Gentleman's House, where they destroy'd

destroy'd his Chappel, and committed many illegal things.

The whole City being in this Confusion, next Morning came into the City Squire *Cook of Highnam*, a Gentleman of great Wisdom and Prudence, as also of great Authority in the City, by whose awe upon the Multitude, most of the Plunder was discovered and restored, and the Rabble quieted.

In the Afternoon the Popish Mayor resigned, and Mr. *Cook* was prevail'd with to accept the Mayoralty: And presently all the Papists were turned out, and the whole Government resettled according to the Law. While these things were acting, the Lord *Lovelace* came into the City with a Party of Horse, and being afterwards joyned by more, marched Westward.

Divers other Places declared also for the Prince. So that the Duke of B---- who commanded the County Militia, perceiving he could be no way farther serviceable to the King's Affairs, which were now grown desperate, betook himself to his Retirement, and the Militia finding themselves without a Leader,

Leader, Disbanded of themselves.

And now the Lords Commissioners being returned without hopes to effect any thing, the *Infant*, which had been sent to *Portsmouth*, either as supposed to be the securest place, or else in order to pass the Seas, was in all haste sent for back again, and carried to *Windsor*, whether the Queen followed him the next Morning. And now several Councils were held, most of them privately in the King's Closet, to advise what was to be done in this condition of Affairs. When upon the ninth of *December* in the Evening, News came that the Prince's Forces had made their way through *Reading*, and gained the pass of *Twiford-bridge*, without any considerable resistance; for the Reer-guard of the King's Army, having left *Reading* upon the approach of the Prince's Vanguard, about seven Troops of Horse and Dragoons, Scotch and Irish, returned back again upon the eighth of *December*, and kept a very strict Guard; which put the Town in a great fear of being Plundered and Fired; and three Messengers were sent away to *Newberry*, to hasten

hasten the March of the Prince's Army to save the Town. Upon which Orders were given for two Troops to march by two of the Clock in the Morning, who came on very slowly all the way, that they might be the more serviceable in Action. The King's Souldiers had set a Centinel on the Church-Tower, who by Firing a Gun, gave notice of their Approach; though they came not the great Road, and so were not seen till very near; upon which the Trumpets sounded, Drums beat, and all stood ready. But then immediately the Prince's Men thundered in, riding furiously through several Streets, holding their Bridle Reins in their little Fingers, their Pistols in both hands, lying close flat down on their Horses necks, crying out, *Hollow Boys, Hollow*, at which there was a great Shout in the Town; and *away Women, away Women*; and so they charged the King's Souldiers as they found them. Twelve charged two hundred in the Market-place; six leap'd their Horses into St. *Maries* Church-yard over the Stone-steps, and drave out the Dragoon-Musqueteers that lin'd the

the

the Church-yard Wall, and others in the Church-yard; the People being at Church all this while. Thus they charged every where so furiously, that the King's Souldiers ran, and they pursued, killing some and taking others: They killed about Eighteen, wounded several, and took about Sixty Horses. One Dutch Cornet was killed, his Horse being shot under him, and then several firing upon him. All the ways were spread with Boots, Hats, Coats and Swords of the King's Souldiers that fled. Three Colours were taken, one of Irish Dragoons, and two of Scotch Horse. After this many of the King's Party Deserted; the rest were forced to quit the Pass, and make the best of their Retreat.

Upon this the Queen, who had been at *Windsor* the day before to fetch the Infant, upon his being brought back from *Portsmouth*, returned to *London*, and having taken care to send away her Equipage down the *Thames* in Wherries, crossed the Water upon the Tenth of *December* by three of the Clock in the Morning, and taking Coach, with a slender Attendance, was seen upon
the

the Road, driving for *Dover*, or some private Outlet not far off, from whence she had the good hap to land in *France*, together with her Babe, to which as yet she seems to shew a most tender and Motherly kindness.

The Queen having thus left the Court, the Chancellor, Father *Petre*, and all the rest (for 'tis thought the Nuntio went away with the Queen) thought it their best way to shift for themselves.

The same Evening the King being returned to *London*, sent for the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs; upon whom he laid a strict Charge to take care of the City, and to keep it in Peace and Quietness, as far as lay in their Power, and so dismiss'd them. After which the Council was a long time in Debate, and a Meeting was appointed the next Morning; when, contrary to the Expectation of all Men, the King about three of the Clock in the Morning, took Barge at the Privy-stairs, and went down the River, without the least discovery of his Departure to any, but those that accompanied him. Only in regard he was expected at *Uxbridge*
the

the next day, where a Dinner was provided for him at the Crown Inn ; and whether his Army was retreated before the Prince of Orange : He sent the following Letter to the Earl of Feversham.

THings being come to that Extremity, that I have been forced to send away the Queen, and my Son the Prince of Wales, that they might not fall into my Enemies hands, which they must have done if they had staid : I am obliged to do the same thing, in hopes it will please God, out of his infinite Mercy to this unhappy Nation, to touch their Hearts again with true Loyalty and Honour. If I could have relyd on all my Troops, I might not have been put to the Extremity I am now in, and would at least have had one blow for it. But though I know there are many and brave men among you, both Officers and Souldiers, yet you know, that both you and several of the General Officers and Souldiers and Men of the Army told me, it was no ways advisable for me, to venture my self at their Head, or to think to Fight the Prince of Orange with them.

And

And now there remains only for me to thank you, and all those both Officers and Souldiers, who have stuck to me and been truly Loyal. I hope you will still retain the same Fidelity to me; and though I do not expect you should expose your selves by resisting a Foreign Army and a Poyson'd Nation, yet I hope your former Principles are so enrooted in you, that you will keep your selves free from Associations, and such pernicious things. Time presses, so that I can add no more.

J. R.

Upon this the Earl of Feversham presently Disbanded four thousand Men, and afterwards sent the following Letter to the Prince of Orange.

S I R,

HAVING received this Morning a Letter from His Majesty, with the unfortunate News of His Resolution to go out of England; I thought my self obliged, being at the Head of His Army, and having received His Orders to make no Opposition against any Body, to let Your Highness know it, with the Advice of the Officers

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here,

here, so soon as it was possible, to hinder the Effusion of Blood. I have ordered already, to that purpose, all the Troops that are under my Command; which shall be the last Order they shall receive from, &c.

No sooner was the King's withdrawing known, but the Mobile, who had been unruly for some days before, resolved now to pursue the wreaking of their Vengeance upon the Papists and Popery. They began with pulling down and burning the New-built Mass-house near the Arch in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*.

Thence they went to *Wild-House*, the Residence of the Spanish Ambassador, where they Ranfack'd, Destroy'd and Burn'd all the Ornamental and Inside Part of the Chappel, and as Thieves and Common Rogues always take such Opportunities to mix with the unruly Youth, they plundered the Ambassador's House of Plate, Money and Rich Goods, and Robbed many others who had sent in their Plate and Money into the Ambassador's House for Security.

Thence they went to the College of *Dominicans* in *St. Jones's* near *Smithfield* and

and demolish'd it quite. And from thence flung to *Black-Friers* near the Ditch-side, to spend their Fury upon one *Henry Hills* a Printer, who being a Person remarkable for many Changes of his Religion, but fixing at length upon that of the Papists, under the shelter of *James* the Second, became a great Promoter of the Roman Catholick Interest, to the utmost of his Ability; having procured his Son to be the Messenger of the Press, thereby to have the Guard of the Press himself, and stifle the Births of Protestant Writers. Him therefore the Mobile pickt out as a Mark of their Indignation, spoiled all his Letter, brake his Forms, and burn'd him two or three hundred Reams of Paper, printed and unprinted. Thence they hurried to *Lime-street* and *Bucklers-berry*, where they demolish'd both the Mass-houses. Thence they row'd to the *Hay-market* and pull'd down the Resident of *Florence's* Chappel. From thence to the *Nuntio's* and other places at that end of the Town, but finding the Birds flown, and Bills upon the Doors, they drew off.

To remedy these and other Disorders that might happen, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal that were about the Town, assembled together, and finding *White-hall* full of Confusion, or rather like a deserted place, they gave order for the dismissing all the Popish Officers and Souldiers, gave Directions for the keeping the Palace from Pillage and Spoil, which it was easily liable to in that Distraction. After that they went into the City, where the Lord Mayor upon notice, had summoned a Court of Aldermen; where, after a short Debate concerning the Tower, it was agreed, that Mr. *Skelton* the Lieutenant should be sent for, and ordered withall to bring the Keys along with him, which he readily did, and surrendered them in Court. Which done, by the consent of the Lords, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Government of the Tower was committed to the Lord *Lucas*, which he accepted; and for the time, the City and Tower-Hamlet Trained-Bands were ordered for his Guards.

Much

Much about the same time one Mr. *Burnham* an ancient Solicitor, who well knew the Lord Chancellor, had an opportunity accidentally to discover him in the House of one Mr. *Porter* a Master of a *Newcastle* Ship, living in *Anchor and Hope Alley* in *Wapping*, from whence he caused him to be carried to one Captain *Jones's*, Commander of a *Jamaica* Vessel. From thence Mr. *Burnham*, Captain *Jones*, and his Lordship drave in a Coach to the Tower, where they delivered him into the Custody of the Lord *Lucas*. After which they went up to the Lord Mayor, and acquainted his Lordship with what they had done. After a short Consultation his Lordship sent for the Chancellor; who was brought to *Grocers-Hall* with a strong Guard, through thousands of Curses of the common People, and Reproaches of the better sort: From whence after some time, he was sent back to the Tower by order of the Lords, by this time returned from the City to the Council-Chamber in *White-hall*. Where, to prevent the farther Disorders of the Rabble, they made an

Order, requiring all Persons whatsoever to keep and preserve the Peace, and to forbear pulling down or defacing of any House or Building whatsoever, especially those of Foreign Ministers, upon pain of Imprisonment, and being farther proceeded against according to Law; requiring also the Sheriffs of *London*, *Middlesex* and *Surrey*, and all other Officers both Civil and Military, to take effectual care to prevent any Disturbances of that Nature, and empowering the Deputy-Lieutenants to make use of the Militia, if the Civil Officers could not prevail.

They ordered also, that the Forts of *Tilbury*, *Sheer-Ness*, and all the other Forts down the River, should be put into the hands of Protestants. Which Orders were executed soon after by the Duke of *Grafton*, upon his first coming to Town.

Almost at the same time, while the Lords were sitting in Council, Mr. *Pen*, walking in *White-hall*, was brought before their Lordships, and required to give Sureties to appear the first day of the Term, which he did, viz. the Lord
Brandon

Brandon Gerrard, and another Noble Person: Mr. Pen at the same time declaring, That he had done nothing but what he could answer before God and all the Princes of the World: That he loved his Country, and the Protestant Religion above his Life, and never acted against either: That all he ever aimed at in his publick Endeavours, was what the Prince himself had declared for: That the King was always his Friend and his Fathers Friend, and Friend to those of his Perswasion, and in gratitude he was the Kings, and did ever as much as in him lay, influence him to his true Interest.

Soon after the Lords agreed to the following Declaration to be sent to His Highness the Prince of Orange.

WE doubt not but the World believes, that in this great and dangerous Conjunction, we are heartily and zealously concerned for the Protestant Religion, the Laws of the Land, and the Liberties and Properties of the Subject. And we did reasonably hope, that the King having issued out His Proclamation and Writs

for a Free Parliament, we might have rested secure under the Expectation of that Meeting; but His Majesty having withdrawn himself, and as we apprehend, in order to his Departure out of the Kingdom, by the pernicious Counsels of Persons ill-affected to our Nation and Religion: We cannot without being wanting to our Duty, be silent under the Calamities wherein the Popish Counsels, which so long prevailed, have miserably involved us. We do therefore unanimously resolve to apply our selves to His Highness the Prince of Orange, who with so great kindness to these Kingdoms, so vast Expence, and so much hazard to his own Person, hath undertaken, by endeavouring to procure a Free Parliament, to rescue us, with as little Effusion of Christian Blood as possible, from the imminent Dangers of Popery and Slavery.

And we do hereby declare, That we will, with our utmost Endeavours, assist His Highness in the obtaining such a Parliament with all Speed, wherein our Laws our Liberties and our Properties may be secur'd, the Church of England in particular, with a due Liberty to Protestant Dissenters; and in general, that the Protestant Religion
and

and Interest over the whole World may be supported and encouraged to the Glory of God, the Happiness of the established Government in these Kingdoms, and the Advantage of all Princess and States in Christendom that may be herein concerned.

In the mean time, we will endeavour to preserve as much as in us lies, the Peace and Security of these great and populous Cities of London and Westminster, and the parts adjacent, by taking care to disarm all Papists, and secure all Jesuits and Romish Priests who are in or about the same. And if there be any thing more to be performed by us, for the promoting His Highness's generous Intentions for the publick Good, we shall be ready to do it, as occasion shall require.

This was signed by the two Archbishops, five Bishops, and two and twenty Noblemen; and it was then concluded, that the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Viscount Weymouth, the Lord Bishop of Ely and the Lord Culpepper, should forthwith attend His Highness with the said Declaration, and at the same

same time acquaint him with what was farther done at that Meeting.

And now the Lords, having for some days, as already has been said, left the City, the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council assembled together, and among other Matters agreed, that an Humble Address should in their Names, and in the behalf of the City, be presented to His Highness the Prince of Orange, which was done in these words.

May it please Your Highness.

WE taking into Consideration Your Highness's fervent Zeal for the Protestant Religion, manifested to the World in Your many and hazardous Enterprizes, wherein it hath pleased Almighty God to Bless You with miraculous Success, do render our deepest Thanks to the Divine Majesty for the same; and beg leave to present our most Humble Thanks to Your Highness, particularly for Your appearing in Arms in this Kingdom, to carry on and perfect Your Glorious Designs, to rescue England, Scotland and Ireland from Slavery and Popery; and in

a Free Parliament to establish the Religion, the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms, upon a Sure and Lasting Foundation.

We have hitherto look'd for some Remedy for these Oppressions and imminent Dangers, which we together with our Protestant Fellow-Subjects laboured under, from His Majesties Concessions and Concurrences with Your Highness's just and pious Purposes, expressed in Your Gracious Declarations.

But herein finding our selves finally disappointed by His Majesties withdrawing himself, We presume to make Your Highness our Refuge; and do in the Name of this Capital City, implore Your Highness's Protection, and most humbly Beseech Your Highness to repair to this City, where Your Highness will be received with Universal Joy and Satisfaction.

This Address being approved and agreed to, four Aldermen and eight Commoners were appointed to attend His Highness, by whom it was accordingly with all Submission presented, and no less favourably received.

At

At the same time also the Lieutenancy of the City of *London* being met together, drew up another Address in the behalf of themselves and the Body of the Militia, and ordered Sir Robert Cleyton, Sir William Russel, Sir Basil Firebrass, and Mr. Charles Duncomb to be their Commissioners to present it to His Highness in their behalfs. Which Address ran in these words.

May it please Your Highness,

WE can never sufficiently express the Deep Sense we have conceived, and shall ever retain in our Hearts, that Your Highness has exposed Your Person to so many Dangers both by Sea and Land, for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdon; without which unparalleled Undertaking, we must probably have suffered all the Miseries that Popery and Slavery could have brought upon us.

We have been greatly concerned, that before this time we have not had any reasonable Opportunity to give Your Highness and the World a real Testimony, that it has been our firm Resolution to venture all
that

that is Dear to us, to attain those Glorious Ends which Your Highness has proposed, for restoring and settling these Distracted Nations.

We therefore now present to Your Highness our just and due Acknowledgments for the Happy Relief you have brought us, and that we may not be wanting in this present Conjunction, we have put our selves into such a Posture, that by the Blessing of God, we may be able to prevent all ill Designs, and to preserve this City in Peace and Safety till Your Highness's happy Arrival.

We therefore humbly desire that Your Highness will be pleased to repair to this City with what convenient speed you can, for the perfecting the great Work which Your Highness has so happily begun, to the general Joy and Satisfaction of us all.

This Address being carried, by the Commissioners before named, was receiv'd with all the kind returns, of satisfaction and favour, that could be expected from a Prince so Generous and Obliging.

By

By this time the Kings Forces were in a manner all Disbanded, partly by the Earl of *Feverſham's* Order, and partly by their finding themſelves without a Head, and not knowing where to get their Pay, if they continued in Service. And indeed many of the Foot Soldiers were driven to great Extremities for want of Money, Lodging, and other Neceſſaries; ſo that for a while they went about the Streets begging the Alms of well diſpoſed People. Only the Irish Battalion ſeem'd for ſome time obſtinately, to continue in Arms, till by the Commands of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, they were conſtrained to ſubmit.

On the Fourteenth of *December*, His Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* came to *Windsor*, about Three in the Afternoon, and was receiv'd with all Reſpect and Submiſſion imaginable, by the Mayor and Aldermen in their Formalities; the Steward of the Corporation congratulating his Arrival in an Eloquent Speech. After which his Highneſs was conducted to the Prince of *Denmarks* Lodgings, which were prepar'd for his Reception.

But

But while his Highness was preparing for *London*, News was brought him, that the King attempting to pass the Seas, at *Feverſham*, in disguise, was stopp'd by some of the Towns-men, who were diligently searching for all others who might be suspected to make the same attempts. The Towns-men, being ignorant that it was the King, could not keep off the Mobile, but that they would have a share in the Prisoner; so that, between the one and the other, he was carried, in a very rude manner, to a House in the Town, where the Mobile took from him some Jewels, a considerable quantity of Gold, and a Crucifix of great Value: nor would those rude People desist from their Incivilities, till a Gentleman coming to see whether or no he knew the Prisoner they had taken, and knowing him, fell upon his Knees in acknowledgment of his Duty. Upon which the multitude not being a little daunted, the greatest part retir'd, and the remaining part besought his pardon, offering to restore what they had despoil'd him of. However the King would receive none of his Gold again; but

but freely bestow'd it upon them, and as generously forgave them the rude entertainment of his Person.

Soon after the Lords at *Whitehall*, hearing of his Majesties being at *Fever-sham*, sent certain Commissioners to wait upon him, and to pray him to return to his Royal Palace, to which at first he did not seem very inclinable. But at length being press'd to return, he was brought to *London* upon *Sunday* in the Evening.

On the otherside his Highness the Prince of *Orange* being fully determin'd to come to *London* with all speed, and having order'd his methods of proceeding accordingly; and among other things, being firmly of Opinion, that it was not expedient in many Respects for the King and himself to be in the same place, at one and the same time, considering the present State of Affairs: Therefore upon notice his Majesty was returning to the City, he sent *Monsieur Zulestein* to meet him upon the Road, and intreat his Return to *Rocheſter*. But *Monsieur Zulestein* having mis'd him, by taking another Road, the King arriv'd
at

at *Whitehall* on *Sunday*, the 16th of *December*, in the Evening, attended by several Noblemen and a Guard of Horse. From thence he sent the Earl of *Fever-sham*, to wait on the Prince at *Windsor*, with an Invitation to the Prince to make use of *St. James's*. Which after the Prince had receiv'd, he caus'd the Earl to be seiz'd and made a Prisoner at *Windsor*: tho he was afterwards discharg'd in complacency to the Queen Dowagers Mediation in his behalf.

The Prince advising with the Lords, at *Windsor*, upon this Invitation, after he had imparted to them the Kings Message, left them together to debate the Matter: So that after a serious Debate among themselves, it was by no means judg'd convenient for the Prince to accept the Invitation. On the other side, because there was a necessity for the Prince to hasten to Town, the Lords concurr'd, that the shortness of Time would admit of no better Expedient, then that the King should be desir'd to remove to some place at a reasonable distance from *London*; and to that purpose *Ham-House* belonging to the

Dutchess of *Lauderdale*, was the Place concluded upon. In order to which a Paper was drawn and Sign'd by the Prince, in these words,

WE desire You, the Lord Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere*, to tell the King, That it is thought convenient, for the greater safety of his Person, that he do remove to *Hain*, where he shall be attended by Guards, who will be ready to preserve him from any disturbance.

This Paper being Sign'd by the Prince, the Three Noble Persons, therein named, were appointed to attend the King, with the Contents. However it was resolv'd, before the delivery, that his Highness's Guards should be possess'd of all the Posts at *Whitehall*, to prevent the possibility of any Disturbance; which, besides other ill consequences, might peradventure have involv'd the King's Person, in the dangers that might have happen'd upon any dispute. Now it was suppos'd that the Prince's Guards might have reach'd *London* by Eight a Clock

Clock that Night ; but the Ways were so bad, that it was past Ten before they arriv'd ; and then some difficulty arising about withdrawing the King's Army from their Stations ; these were the reasons, that so much time was spent, that it was past Twelve, before the Lords could proceed in the delivery of their Message. However they took care that they might preserve all possible Decency and Respect, and not suddainly break in upon the King with a Message of that Nature. Thereupon they sent a short Letter to the Lord *Middleton*, the Kings Principal Secretary of State ; Signifying, That they had a Message to be delivered to his Majesty, from the Prince, which was of such importance, that they who were charged with it, desir'd they might be immediately admitted ; and therefore desir'd to know where they might find his Lordship to introduce them.

This Letter being Sign'd by the Three Noble Persons before named, the Lord *Middleton* sent word back by the Messenger, that he would be ready at the Stairs of the Guard Chamber to

carry their Lordships to the King. Accordingly they found his Lordship there, who brought them to the King, who was then in bed. To whom the Lords, after they had made an Apology for disturbing his Majesty, at such an unreasonable time of Night, deliver'd the Prince's Message. Which so soon as the King had read, the King return'd for Answer, *That he would readily comply.* Whereupon, the Lords, as they were instructed, humbly desir'd, *That if it might be done with Conveniency to his Majesty, that he would be pleas'd to remove so early, as to be at Ham by Noon, to prevent by that means, his meeting the Prince in his March to London.* To that the King readily agreed, and afterwards put the Question, *Whether he might not appoint what Servants should attend him?* To which the Lords Replied, *That it was left to his Majesty to give what Order he pleased in that particular.* Upon that the Lords took their Leave and departed. But by that time they were gone as far as the Privy Chamber, the King sent after them again, and told them, *That he had forgot to acquaint them with his Resolution*

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solution, before the Message came, to have sent the Lord Godolphin the next Morning to the Prince, to propose his going back to Rochester; in regard he found by the Message that Mr. Zulestein was charged with, that the Prince had no mind he should be at London; and therefore he now desir'd that he might return to Rochester. To which the Lords Replied, That they would immediately send an accompt to the Prince of what his Majesty desired, and made no Question of such an Answer as would prove to his satisfaction. Forthwith the Lords dispatch'd a Messenger to the Prince, who finding his Highness at Sion House, gave him an accompt of all that had pass'd; and before eight of the Clock in the Morning had a Letter deliver'd him from Mounser Benting, by the Prince's Order, agreeing to the King's proposal of returning to Rochester. Accordingly, the Guards and Barges being made ready to attend him, and his Coach, and Sumpters being appointed also to follow him, he reach'd Graves-End on the 18th of December, in the Evening, and pass'd over Land in his Coach to Rochester, where he made

choice of Sir *Richard Heads* House, for the place of his Residence, while he tarried there.

And now the satisfaction of the long-ing People in the City drew near. For upon the day that the King left *Whitehall*, his Highness the Prince of *Orange* came to *St. James's* about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, in this manner.

The Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, in a Coach and six Horses, with their Attendants, went as far as *Hide-Park*, to meet the Prince; having drawn up their Men at the upper side of *St. James's Park* in a Readiness to receive him.

A considerable Number of the Prince's Soldiers were drawn up on each side the Road, for a mile or two beyond *Knights-Bridge*, to the Park Corner.

His Highness was attended through *Knights-Bridge*, with a great Number of Persons of Quality, in their Coaches and six Horses, and a great Train of Gentlemen on Horse-back; the People Huzzaing, and filling the Air with their loud Acclamations, all along as he came forward.

The first that enter'd *St. James's Park*, were four Regiments of Foot, two of which Regiments were Commanded by Major General *Makoy*, and Mounsier *Bellesfond*. Then follow'd the Right Honorable the Earl of *Macklesfield*, and the Lord *Brandon Gerard*, in a Coach and six Horses. After them the Earl of *Sussex* with a great many Persons of Quality. Then follow'd a Coach with six White Horses, immediately before the Prince, in which were the Count of *Nassau*, the young Count *Schomberg*, and an English Commander.

Then appear'd the Prince Himself, in a small Calash, drawn by four Bay Horses, the two formost having such long Harness, that they were at a considerable distance from the others. His Highness had a White Cloak thrown over his Shoulders; Marshal *Schomberg* sitting on his left Hand.

His Highness was surrounded by a Body of his Horse-Guards, after which came a Regiment of Dragoons, and behind them a Body of Foot.

Upon the Prince's entrance into the Park, the Sheriffs left their Coach and

mounted on Horse-back, accompanied with four or five hunder'd Horse, and rid before the Prince, with their White Staves in their Hands, and on each side of His Highness a Great Officer, till he came to St. James's, which he enter'd with loud acclamations of the People, and where soon after he receiv'd the Complements of all the Nobility, and other Persons of the chiefest Quality in the Town: and at Night the Streets blaz'd with an infinite number of Bon-fires, the Bells ringing every where, and all places being fill'd with all the Demonstrations of unfeigned Joy imaginable, to see the Face of affairs so visibly chang'd. Upon the arrival of his Highness at St. James's, the Common Council of the City of London assembled, and unanimously Agreed and Order'd, *That all the Aldermen of the City, and their Deputies, with two Common-Council-Men, for each Ward, should wait upon his Highness, and congratulate him upon his happy arrival, at such time and place as his Highness should appoint. And that the two Sheriffs, and Mr. Common Serjeant should wait upon the Prince to know*

know his Pleasure, when the Representatives of the whole City should attend him ; which was done the next day : At what time his Highness having signified his Pleasure ; upon the 20th of December, the Aldermen, with their Deputies, and a select Number of the Common Council (the Lord Mayor lying very ill) attended accordingly ; at what time Sir George Treby deliver'd the sentiments of all the rest in a short Speech, as follows.

May it please Your Highness,
T*HE Lord Mayor being disabl'd by sickness, Your Highness is attended by the Aldermen and Commons of the Capital City of this Kingdom, deputed to congratulate Your Highness upon this Great and Glorious Oecasion. In which Labouring for words we cannot but come short in expression.*

Reviewing our late Danger, we remember our Church and State, over-run by Popery and Arbitrary Power, and brought to the Point of Destruction, by the Conduct of Men that were our true Invaders ; that brake the Fences of our Laws, and which
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was worst, the very Constitution of our Legislature. So that there was no remedy left but the last.

The only Person, under Heaven, that could apply this Remedy, was your Highness. You are of a Nation, whose Alliance in all times has been agreeable and prosperous to us. You are of a Family most Illustrious Benefactors to mankind. To have the Title of Sovereign Prince and Statholder, and to have worn the Imperial Diadem are among their Lesser Dignities. They have enjoy'd a Dignity singular and transcendent, To be the Champions of Almighty God, sent forth in several Ages, to vindicate his Cause against the Greatest Oppressions.

To this Divine Commission, our Nobles, our Gentry, and among them our Brave English Soldiers, render'd themselves and their Arms, upon Your Appearing.

Great Sir,

When we look back on the last Month, and contemplate the swiftness and fullness of our present Deliverance, astonished we think it miraculous.

Your

Your Highness, lead by the hand of Heaven, and called by the Voice of the People, has preserved our Dearest Interests.

The Protestant Religion, which is Primitive Christianity, restored.

Our Laws, which are our ancient Title to our Lives, Liberties and Estates, and without which this World were a Wilderness.

But what Retribution can we make Your Highness? Our Thoughts are full charged with Gratitude. Your Highness has a lasting Monument in the Hearts, in the Prayers, and in the Praises of all good Men among us. And late Posterity will celebrate Your Ever Glorious Name.

About the same time the High-Sheriff, Nobility and Gentry of the County of Cambridge, drew up and signed an Address to His Highness, wherein they not only begged his Protection, and implored his Aid to redeem these Kingdoms from Popery and Slavery, but also assured His Highness, that they would Contribute their utmost Endeavours in perfecting so Glorious a Work;

Work; and returned His Highness their unfeigned Thanks for the Progress he had already made, with so much Expence, Labour and Hazard, both by Sea and Land. So contrary was now the general Voice of the Kingdom, to the late Fawning Adulations of the *Weekly Gazette* Addressees.

And here we must not omit, though somewhat out of the order of time, the same Ardour for the Protestant Religion, and the Ancient Constitutions of the English Government, in the County of *Norfolk* and City of *Normich*, animated and inflamed by the Noble Gallantry and Courage of His Grace the Duke of *Norfolk*, whose sedulous Endeavours equalled the Zeal of the most forward for the welfare of their Country.

His Grace's first Appearance was in the Market-place of *Normich*, at the Head of a great number of the Gentry of the County and their Attendants; to which place the Mayor being sent for, His Grace was pleased to deliver himself briefly as follows.

Mr.

Mr. Mayor,

NOT doubting but that you and the rest of your Body, as well as the whole City and Country, may be alarm'd by the great Concourse of Gentry, with the numerous Appearance of their Friends and Servants, as well as of your own Militia here this Morning; I thought this the most proper place, as being the most publick one, to give you an account of our Intentions.

Out of the deep sense we had, that in the present unhappy Juncture of Affairs, nothing we could think of was possible to secure the Laws, Liberties and Protestant Religion, but a Free Parliament: We are here met to declare, That we will do our utmost to defend the same, by declaring for such a Free Parliament.

And since His Majesty has been pleased, by the News we have this day, to order Writs for a Parliament, to Sit the Fifteenth of January next; I can only add in the Name of my self and all these Gentlemen, and others here met, That we will ever be ready to defend and support the Laws, Liberties and Protestant Religion.

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All which was so acceptable to the Mayor, Aldermen, and the rest of the Corporation there assembled, that they all unanimously concurred with His Grace and the rest of the Gentry.

But then his Grace, at his alighting from his Horse, observing great Numbers of common People gathered together, called them to him, and desired them not to take any occasion to commit any Disorder or Outrage, but to go quietly to their Homes; acquainting them withall, that the King had ordered a Free Parliament to be called.

From thence soon after his Grace proceeded to *Kings-Lyn*, attended by the chiefeſt Gentry of the County, where being arrived, he received the following Address presented him in the Market-place by the Mayor, attended by the Body of the Corporation, and many hundreds of the Inhabitants.

My Lord,

THE daily Alarums we receive, as well from Foreign as Domestick Enemies, give us just Apprehensions of the approaching Danger which we conceive we
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are in; and therefore do apply with all earnestness to your Grace, as our great Patron in all humble Confidence to succeed in our Expectations, that we may be put into such a Posture, by your Graces Directions and Conduct, as may make us appear as Zealous as any in the Defence of the Protestant Religion, the Laws and ancient Government of this Kingdom. Being the desire of many hundreds, who most humbly challenge a Right of your Graces Protection.

To which His Grace returned for Answer,

THAT he was very much obliged to the Mayor and the rest of his Body, and those then present, for their good Opinion of him, and the Confidence they had; that he would do what in him lay, to support and defend the Laws, Liberties and Protestant Religion, in which he would never deceive them.

And therefore since the coming of the Prince of Orange had given him an Opportunity to declare for the defence of them, he assured them, That no man would venture

ture his Life and Fortune more freely for the Defence of the Laws, Liberties and Protestant Religion then he would do. And withall, that the Gentlemen there present, and many more, would unanimously concur therein; and that they should see that all possible Care should be taken, that such a Defence should be made as they required.

After this, the Duke with his Retinue, was entertained at the Mayor's House with a sumptuous Dinner, and loud Acclamations of the People. And these Encouragements from his Graces Lips so enlivened the Town, that the next Morning the Trades-men, Sea-men, and common People, generally put *Orange Ribbons* in their Hats, and nothing was to be heard all over the Town, but what sounded their Affection to the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke of *Norfolk*.

But now the King having continued for some days at *Rocheſter*, upon the 22^d. of *December*, about twelve a Clock at Night, withdrew himself with a slender Train for good and all, taking a back way with great Secrefie and Caution

tion to the Sea-side, where he Embarked, and, as afterwards it was known, Landed in *France*. However he left a Paper behind him, which was published abroad as his own, and contained the Reasons for his withdrawing himself, with some too unseemly Reflections upon His Highness the Prince of *Orange*. Which made many believe, it was rather the Contrivance of some of the Discarded Gang, than of the King's own Composing. At the same time *Portsmouth* also, that had held out till then with some Obstinacy, under the Duke of *Berwick* and Sir *Edward Scot* the Deputy-Governour, submitted, and received a Garison, sent thither by the Prince's Order. Of the Duke of *Berwick's* and Sir *Edward Hales's* Regiments, there were but few Men left; and the Irish Dragoons had most of them sold their Horses, and so march'd out afoot.

Upon *December 24.* the Peers that were in Town, attended His Highness, to whom he was pleased to recommend speedy and steady Counsels. *That he came over at their Request, and had done his Part: That God had hitherto so pro-*

spered the undertaking, that it was now in their own power to save themselves, their Religion and Country. Upon which some of the Peers, who had not before subscribed the Association, having then subscribed it, they all agreed to meet in the Lords House next Morning, and that Serjeant *Maynard*, Mr. *Polixfen*, and three or four more of the most eminent Lawyers should have notice, that they were desired to meet their Lordships, in order to assist the Debates that might arise in Point of Law. Accordingly on Saturday Morning there met in the Lords House, (his Grace of *Canterbury* being ill,) the Lord Archbishop of *York*, the Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Somerset*, *Ormond* and *Beaufort*, the Marquess of *Halifax*, Two and thirty Earls and Viscounts, the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *St. Asaph*, *Ely* and *Rochester*, and Twenty two Temporal Lords; who having first made choice of the Marquess of *Halifax* for their Chair-man, made an Order in the next place, for all Papists to depart the City of *London*, and Ten Miles from the same within five days, and not to re-
move

move from their Habitations above five Miles, excepting such as were actually in the Queen *Dowager's* Service: The Domesticks of Foreign Ministers, Foreign Merchants and Factors being here only upon the account of Trade; and all House-keepers in *London* and ten Miles from the same, who had been Traders for three years last past; provided they gave in their Names and places of abode in eight days, to the Lord Mayor in Writing; and also all Popish Officers that should give Bail in six days, to appear the first day of the Term, and to be of the Good Behaviour in the mean time; and such Officers as should neglect, to be taken into Custody.

The next day being Sunday, about four in the Afternoon, the Nobility attended the Prince with two Addresses, which had been agreed unto and subscribed by about Ninety of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal the day before. The first gave his Highness their humble and hearty Thanks for his coming over, and rescuing the Nation from Popery and Slavery, and pray'd his Highness

to take upon him the Government both of the Civil and Military, until a Free Parliament could Assemble to settle and secure Religion, Laws, Liberties, &c. As also that his Highness would take *Ireland* into his immediate Care and Protection.

The Second desired, That his Highness would be pleased to issue out Circulatory Letters to the Coroners of the several Counties, and the Chief Magistrates of Cities and Borough-Towns, to elect and return Members to sit in the Parliament at *Westminster* the 22^d. of *January* ensuing. His Highness having received the said Addresses, returned their Lordships his hearty Thanks for their unanimous and speedy Resolutions; but hoped they did not then expect his Answer, desiring a short time to consider.

The next day, His Royal Highness having before requested such as had served Knights, Citizens and Burgessees in any of the Parliaments holden in the Time of King *Charles* the Second, as also the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Fifty of the Common-Council of the City,

City, to meet him at St. James's by ten o'clock in the Morning; accordingly about an hundred and sixty who had been Members, such as were required, together with the Court of Aldermen, the Sheriffs, and Fifty of the Common-Council in their Gowns, attended his Highness, the Lord Mayor's indisposition not permitting him to be present with the rest. Presently the Prince acquainted them how Zealous he was for the Preservation of the publick Peace and Safety of the Nation, in the Religion and Laws established. That the Emergencies of State, at this time, had caused him to send for that Assembly, to consider of the best and most speedy means to secure the same; and having a Paper in his hand, gave it to Sir Thomas Allen, as being eldest Alderman, or as he is styled Father of the City, telling him withall, that in that Paper was contained his mind: and therefore he desired them to go from thence to the House of Commons at Westminster, and consult thereupon. Which they immediately did, Mr. Jo-

nd Verell, Clerk to the House of Commons,

attending in his place. The first thing they did, was to choose a Chair-man; upon which Mr. Powle of Gloucestershire being nominated, was unanimously made choice of. After that, the Paper given to Sir Thomas Allen was called for and read, which was to the same effect as his Highness's Speech. Then his Highness's Declaration was called for and read; which done, they desired to know how far the Peers had proceeded. Upon which Francis Gwyn Esq; whom the Lords had appointed their Clerk, appeared and produced two Papers, which he declared to be authentick Copies of the Lords Addresses; which the Assembly caused to be read, and afterwards debated the same, Paragraph by Paragraph, and concurred with the Lords in all, as to the Matters contained; and it was observable, that whatever was after Debate put to the Vote, passed in the Affirmative, *Nemine Contradicente*. In Conclusion the Association was signed by almost all, and an Address ordered upon the Heads following.

1. To give his Royal Highness their humble and hearty Thanks for his coming over.

2. To pray him to take upon him the Administration of the Government, until the 22^d. of *January* next.

3. To take the State of *Ireland* into his immediate Care and Consideration.

4. To take into his Hands the Publick Revenue, for the support of the Government, Army, Navy, &c.

5. Forthwith to Issue forth his Circulatory Letters to all the Coroners of Counties, and Chief Magistrates of Cities and Boroughs, to cause Elections to be made of Knights, Citizens and Burgesses to meet in Parliament the 22^d. of *January* next at *Westminster*; and that the Coroners give the Counties five days notice, and make the Election in ten days after receipt of the Writ: That the like ten days should be allowed the chief Magistrates, and that they should give the Cities and Boroughs three days notice, and that the Returns of all Elections should be made, as is usual, to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery.

Which things being thus concluded, the Assembly appointed a Committee to draw up this Address, and then adjourned till six a clock at night; at what time the Address being reported by the Committee, it was unanimously assented to. After which the Lord *Wiltshire*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, and *William Harbord* Esq; having waited on his Highness, to know what time he would be attended by the Assembly, and returning for answer, that his Highness had appointed at seven of the Clock; they went in a Body to St. James's, where Mr. *Powle* acquainted his Highness, that he was commanded by the Assembly, to present him their Address, which being tendered at the same time, his Highness desired Mr. *Powle* to read it; who thereupon read it with an audible and distinct voice. Which done, his Highness, after his acceptance of the same, delivered himself to this Effect.

Gentlemen,

I Give you most hearty thanks, and am glad to see such a readiness and unanimous Concurrence betwixt you and the
Lords

Lords Spiritual and Temporal at such a juncture of time as this is. Which I look upon as a good Omen, and Earnest of the Almighty's continued Protection and Blessing on our Endeavours, for the Defence and Preservation of our Holy Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Renowned Kingdom, for which I will be ready to Sacrifice not only my Life, but all I have in the World.

But, Gentlemen, I must crave leave to tell you, that what you desire, is a Matter of extraordinary high Moment, and I shall desire to have time to consider of it, till to morrow three a clock in the Afternoon, when I desire you all to meet again in the House of Commons, and then you shall have my Answer.

On the 28th. of December in the Morning, the Lords attended his Highness at St. James's, where he gave them the following Answer.

My Lords,

I Have considered of your Advice, and as far as I am able, will endeavour to consider the Peace of the Nation, till the Meeting

Meeting of the Convention in January next. For the Election of which I will forthwith issue our Letters according to your desire. I shall also take care to apply the Publick Revenues to the most proper use that the present Affairs do require; and likewise endeavour to put Ireland into such a condition, as that the Protestant Religion and the English Interest may be maintain'd in that Kingdom. And I do further assure you, that as I came hither for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms, so I shall always be ready to expose my self in any hazard for the defence of the same.

Upon which the Lords having made their Thankful acknowledgments for this Speech, so correspondent with their Desires; the Assembly of the Lower-House, together with the Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London waited upon his Highness, in the Afternoon, and receiv'd the same Answer from his Highness.

In the mean time Intelligence came from Chester, that that City, notwithstanding

standing the endeavours of the Popish Party in that County, was reduced under Obedience to his Highness the Prince of Orange.

The Revolution there happen'd in one Night. Alderman *Street*, the Mayor, Lieutenant *Holton*, and about forty Citizens, having consulted together, and contriv'd which way to go to work; at Night secur'd the Castle and the Officers, the Governor himself willingly submitting: At three in the Morning, being assisted by the *Militia*, then in the City, they fell into all the Quarters of the two Troops of Dragoons, disarm'd them, and secur'd both Officers and Soldiers in the Castle and Town-Hall; which was done with little or no opposition. Then they disarm'd the Lord *Molienex's* Regiment, the Soldiers being under such a Consternation, that they fled out of the City with that precipitation, that they left good part of their Apparel, and scarce lookt back between *Chester* and *Lancashire*. By nine in the Morning all was quiet, and the Prince's Declaration was read, and assented to, with the loud Acclamations of the People.

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However the Mobile taking the opportunity of this *Interregnum*, committed several Insolencies, in several parts and Counties of the Kingdom; more particularly in the County of *Norfolk*, where they grew to be so formidable, as to bid defiance to the Trainbands and Civil Magistrates: tho' at length several of them were caught, some whipt, and others continu'd in custody to be proceeded against as Felons, as having demolish'd and ranack'd several Houses belonging to Papists.

For remedy of which, and to prevent the like Disorders for the future, his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, by vertue of the Powers and Trusts reposed in him, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons late assembl'd at *Westminster*, issued forth a Declaration, by which his Highness constituted, directed and appointed, all and every Person, not being a Papist, who upon the first of *Decemb.* 1688. was in the Office of Sheriff, or Justice of Peace, or concern'd in the preservation of the Peace, or Custody, or Keeper, of any Prison or Jayle, by Authority to them de-

deriv'd, by vertue of the said Declaration, to take upon them, and to execute their said Offices and Places respectively, and to suppress all Riots, Routs and unlawful Assemblies whatever.

Upon the 29th of *January* his Highness sign'd the Circulatory Letters, to this effect, That whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesles, heretofore Members of the House of Commons, during the Reign of K. *Charles* the II. &c. had advis'd and desir'd his Highness to cause his Letters to be Written and directed, for the Counties, to the respective Coroners; and for the Cities, Boroughs, and Cinque Ports, to the respective chief Magistrates of each Place, without favour or affection to any person, or indirect practice or proceeding, to do and execute, what of their part was to be done, according to the said Advice. And to take care that the Elections should be made, by such persons only, as according to the ancient Laws and Customs, of right ought to choose Members of Parliament, and to make
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Returns of the Names of the Persons Elected, by Certificate under their Seals, annexed to the Letter.

The same day the Gentlemen, of the Society of the *Middle Temple*, attended his Highness with a Congratulatory Address.

Upon the first of *January*, in the Afternoon, were brought out of *Kent*, where they were taken, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Peterborough*, Sir *Edward Hales*, late Lieutenant of the Tower, *Charles Hales* Esq; his Brother, and Dr. *Obadiab Walker*, late Master of *University* College in *Oxford*, and Committed to the Tower for High Treason. Also Sir *Thomas Jenner*, late one of the Barons of the Exchequer, Mr. *Richard Graham*, and Mr. *Philip Burton*, for high Misdemeanors. There were also brought up, under the same Guard, nine Jesuits and Priests, viz. *John Leyburn*, *Charles Pulton*, *Ralph Clayton*, *Joseph Gifford*, *Robert Jenison*, *William Locker*, *Francis Calamy*, and *Thomas Kingsley*, who being carried Through-bridge were landed at Black-Fryars, where the Keeper of *Nengate* receiv'd them, and carried them to his own Goal. On

On Wednesday, Jan. 2. Divers of the Dissenting Ministers, in and about London, that go under the Denomination of Presbyterial and Congregational, to the number of Ninety or upwards, attended his Highness the Prince of Orange, at St. James's, being introduc'd by the Earl of Devonshire, the Lord Wharton, and the Lord Wiltshire. At what time their Sense was represented by one of those Ministers to this effect.

THAT they profess'd their grateful sense of his Highness's Hazardous and Heroical Expedition, which the Favour of Heaven had made so surprizingly prosperous.

That they esteem'd it a common Felicity, that the Worthy Patriots of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, had unanimously concurr'd with his Highness's design. By whose most prudent Advice, the Administration of Publick Affairs devolved in this difficult conjuncture, into Hands which the Nation and World knew, to be apt for the greatest undertakings, and so suitable to the present Exigencies.

That

That they promis'd the utmost endeavours, which in their Stations, they were capable of affording, for promoting the excellent and most desirable ends, for which his Highness had declar'd.

That they added their continual fervent Prayers to the Almighty, for the preservation of his Highness's Person, and the success of his future endeavours, for the Defence and Propagation of the Protestant Interest throughout the Christian World.

That they should most willingly have chosen that Time for the season of paying this their duty to his Highness, when the Lord Bishop of London, and the Clergy of London attended his Highness for that purpose, which some of them did, and of which his Lordship was pleas'd condescendingly to take notice to his Highness; had their notice of that Application been so early, as to have made their more general attendance possible to them at that time.

That therefore, tho they did now appear in a distinct Company, they did it not upon a distinct Accompt, but on that which is common to them and to all Protestants.

That tho there were some of eminent Note, whom Age or present Infirmities hindered

dred from coming with them, yet they concurred in the same Grateful sense of their Common Delivrance.

His Highness was pleased very favourably to receive their Application, and assured them,

HIS great End was the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and with the Almighty's assistance and permission so to defend and support the same, as might give it Strength and Reputation throughout the World, sufficient to preserve it from the Insults and Oppressions of it's most implacable Enemies; and that, more immediately in these Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that he would use his utmost Endeavor, so to settle and cement all different Perswasions of Protestants, in such a Bond of Love and Community, as might contribute to the lasting security and enjoyment of Spirituals and Temporals, to all sincere Professors of that Holy Religion.

The same day the Governors, Masters, and Ushers, of the Forty Orphan

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poor Blew-coat Boys, in *Christ-Church* Hospital, for whose support, King *Charles* the Second had settled an Annual Pension, with Masters and Ushers, to teach them Mathematicks and Navigation; according the Annual Custom, since their being settled, took up the Youths belonging to the said Foundation, and carried them to St. *James's*, where they presented them to his Highness, as they were wont to do to the King: at what time his Highness was pleas'd to express himself with great kindness and tenderness toward them, assuring them, That during his Administration of the Government, they might depend upon his protection and support, in the same manner as they had it heretofore.

Upon the seventh of *January* the Duke of *Queensberry*, and the rest of the Nobility and Gentry, of *Scotland*, that were in Town, in a Body attended his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, who was pleas'd to receive them with great respect; and after reciprocal Congratulations, his Highness gave them to understand,

THAT

THAT he had the same Zeal for their Country, as for England, and for all sincere Professors of the Protestant Religion; for both which he would hazard his Life, and all that was dear to him, and for that end had set forth a separate Declaration, relating to their Country in particular, in which they had or might see, with what Affection and Compassion, he had espoused their Condition, and was come over as well for their sakes as for others. Therefore he wish'd, and advised them, if there were any Misunderstandings or Animosities among them, that for their Country and Religion sake, at such a time as this, they would bury them in Oblivion; and all as one man, with that Unanimity of mind, as their case call'd for, withdraw together to the Council Chamber, in Whithall, and there consult the common Interest, and he would give them all the Assistance that in him lay.

Upon which the Lords and Gentlemen went to the Council Chamber in Whitehall, and there having made choice of the Duke of Hamilton for their Pre-

sident; gave Instructions to their Clerks to draw up in Writing, what they thought to be most expedient; so that upon the ninth of *January* an Address was prepared, Wherein they gave his Highness thanks for his Pious and Generous undertaking; for preserving the Protestant Religion, and restoring the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms, desiring him to take upon him the Administration of Affairs Civil and Military, and to dispose of the Publick Revenue and Fortresses of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, until the General Meeting of the States of the Nation, which they humbly pray'd his Highness to call, to be holden at *Edinburgh* the 14th of *March* next, and to issue out his Letters for calling such as should be Protestants.

This being the Substance and Heads of the Address, was subscribed by about Thirty Lords and Fourscore Gentlemen; and being presented to his Highness, in their Presence, by Duke *Hamilton*, his Highness return'd them his Thanks for the Trust they had repos'd in him, and took till the next day to consider further,

ther, as he had done in the same case before. - But then the same Lords and Gentry of Scotland attending him again at St. James's, he thus delivered himself.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IN pursuance of your Advice, I will, until the Meeting of the Estates in March, give such Orders concerning the Affairs of Scotland, as are necessary for the Calling the said Meeting, for the preservation of the Peace, the applying of the Publick Revenue to the most pressing uses, and putting the Fortresses into the hands of persons in whom the Nation can have a just Confidence. And I do further assure You, That You shall always find me ready to concur with you in every thing, that may be found necessary for the securing the Protestant Religion, and restoring the Laws and Liberties of the Nation.

Soon after his Highness being given to understand, that several untrue and groundless reports had been industriously spread, among the Seamen of the Fleet, touching the Incertainty of their re-

ceiving the Wages due to them for their Service therein, thought fit to declare, That as well the Arrears already due, as the growing Wages of all and every Officer and Seamen should be made good to them, according to the known Methods of the Navy, so soon as the Ships should be brought in and laid up.

And whereas several Seamen, upon that report, had been misled, to absent themselves from their Ships, by which they had rendred themselves liable to the Penalties of the Sea Laws; his Highness further adds, That all such Absenters, as should return to their Duties, within fifteen days after the date of the Declaration, should be pardoned their Offences, and be entitled to the full benefit of the Declaration in reference to their Wages.

About the same time the Royal *African* Company made their Addresses to his Highness, requesting him to do them the Honor of taking upon him to be their Governor for the ensuing year, and withal made him a present in their Stock of a Thousand Pound, worth Two Thousand. Which he was pleas'd to
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look upon as a signal token of their Affection.

Nor was the City less forward to express their Gratitude for the Favours receiv'd from his Highness. For no sooner had he signified to the City that the Publick Treasure was exhausted, and not sufficient to defray the Necessary Expences of the Nation, but a Committee was ordred to attend him, to know the Sum that might supply the present occasions; whereupon a Hundred thousand pound being named, and offer'd to be repay'd within six months, a great many Eminent and Wealthy Citizens immediately repair'd to *Guildhall*, and offer'd their subscriptions, which were taken accordingly almost to Admiration. For that in a short time almost Three hundred thousand pound was subscrib'd, and brought in with such expedition, that they were forc'd to augment the number of Receivers.

And now the time was come for the grand Convention to sit down: upon whom the Eyes of all *Europe* were wistfully fix'd, to see what methods they

would take to restore the languishing condition of a Kingdom, that had long been harrass'd by the violent Influences of Popish and Arbitrary Counsels. Tho by the sequel it appear'd that there wanted neither Gravity, Experience, Prudence, Piety, nor Gratitude to their great Benefactor to settle and determin an Affair of so high Importance.

Upon the 22^d of *January* therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembl'd at *Westminster*, in each of their Houses, where the Lords made choice of the Right Honorable the Marquis of *Halifax* to be their Speaker; and the Commons chose *Henry Powle Esq;* who accordingly took the Chair.

Being thus settled to the Great Business, the first thing that fell under their Consideration, was a Letter of the Prince of *Orange* to the Lordr Spiritual and Temporal assembled at *Westminster* in the present Convention, in these words.

My Lords,

I Have endeavoured, to the utmost of my Power, to perform what was desired from me, in order to the Publick Peace and Safety; and I do not know that any thing has been omitted which might tend to the Preservation of them, since the Administration of Affairs was put into my hands. It now lies upon you to lay the Foundations of a firm Security for your Religion, your Laws and your Liberties.

I do not doubt, but that by such a full and free Representative of the Nation, as is now met, the Ends of my Declaration will be obtained. And since it has pleased God, hitherto to Bless my Good Intentions with so great Success, I trust in him, that he will compleat his own Work, by sending a Spirit of Peace and Union to influence your Councils, that no Interruption may be given to a happy and lasting Settlement.

The Dangerous Condition of the Protestant Interest in Ireland, requiring a large and speedy Succor, and the present State of things abroad, oblige me to tell you, that next to the Danger of unseasonable Divisions among your selves, nothing
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can be so fatal, as too great delay in your Consultations. The States, by whom I have been enabled to rescue this Nation, may suddenly feel the ill Effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the Service of their Troops, which are now here, and of your early Assistance against a powerful Enemy, who has declared War against them. And as England is by Treaty already engaged to help them upon any such Exigencies, so I am confident that their cheerful Concurrence to preserve this Kingdom with so much hazard to themselves, will meet with all the Returns of Friendship and Assistance, which may be expected from you as Protestants and English-men, whenever their Condition shall require it.

This Letter being read with a most unanimous Approbation and Applause, the Lords and Commons resolved upon an Address to be presented to his Highness, in return of thanks for what he had already done; and humbly to desire him to continue the Administration of the Publick Affairs, till farther Application should be made by them to
his

his Highness, and assuring him withall, to use their utmost Endeavours to give dispatch to the Matters recommended by his Highness to their Consideration.

Which Address being presented, his Highness was pleased to return for Answer,

THAT he was glad that what he had done had pleased them; and since they desired him to continue the Administration of Affairs, he was willing to accept it; withall, recommending to them the Consideration of Affairs Abroad; for which reason it was fit they should be Expeditious not only in making a Settlement at home upon a good Foundation, but for the Safety of all Europe.

After which an Order was made by the Lords, That no Papist or reputed Papist should presume to come into the Lobby, Painted-Chamber, Court of Requests, or Westminster-hall, during the Sitting of the Convention; and that the more notice might be taken of it, They ordered the Printing and Publishing of it,

it, and that it should be affixed upon the Doors of the said Rooms. And that they might not in the least be thought neglectful of Holy Duties for so great a Blessing, they appointed a day of Publick Thanksgiving to God for having made his Highness the Glorious Instrument of the Kingdoms Deliverance from Popery and Slavery; to be celebrated upon the 31st of *January* within the City and ten Miles distance, and the Fourteenth of *February* ensuing, to be observed throughout the whole Nation.

Upon the 23d of *January* the House of Commons appointed several Committees, one about Judicature, another for Religion, a third for the Affairs of *Ireland*; a Committee for Elections, and a Committee to examine the Death of the Earl of *Effex*, wherein the Lords had gone so far by this time, as to have had several Persons under their Examination. Among the rest, the Woman that cleaned the Room, who declared that a Person came to her, and bid her strip the Body of the Earl, and wash it, and take away his Cloaths: To which she

she replying, That the Coroner must first sit upon him: The Person made answer, That was nothing to her, he would bear her harmless; and so gave her Ten Shillings. Two other Persons were also examined, who declared, That they let two Men into the Earl's Chamber, after which they heard a Strugling in the Room. Many other Persons were also sent for at the same time, as the Coroner and the Inquest, and they that found the Body of the Warder in the River of *Medway*.

All this while his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* not having been with the Lords, sent the Lord Bishop of *London* to his Highness the Prince of *Orange* to excuse his Absence; he also sent to the Lords upon the same account, and withall, farther to declare, That he would acquiesce in what their Lordships did, and that the Lord Bishop of *London* should Vote for him by Proxy.

Soon after the Commons falling into Debate about the King's withdrawing himself out of the Nation, came in the Conclusion to an unanimous Resolution:

That

That King *James* the Second, having endeavoured to Subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by violating the Original Contract between the King and the People, and by the Advice of the Jesuits and Wicked Men, having withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, had *Abdicated* the Government, and that the Throne was thereby become Vacant. To which the Commons desired the Concurrence of the Lords.

This stuck with the Lords for some few days; who proposed Amendments to the said Vote, proposing, that instead of (*Abdicated*) the word (*Deserted*) might be made use of. To which the Commons would not consent; alleging at a Conference for their Reasons, That the word (*Deserted*) did not fully express the Conclusion necessarily inferred from the Premises; in regard their Lordships had agreed, That King *James* the Second had endeavoured to Subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom by breaking the Original Contract between the King and his People, and had violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom.

dom. Now, said they, though the word (*Deserted*) were sufficiently significative as to the withdrawing, yet it did not comprehend the whole, as the word (*Abdicated*) did; which was the reason why the Commons made choice of it.

The second Amendment proposed by the Lords was, to leave out the words (and that the Throne is thereby become vacant.) But to this the Commons urged, That so much might well be inferred from so much of their Lordships own Vote, wherein their Lordships had agreed, That King *James* the Second had *Abdicated* the Government, and that the Throne was thereby Vacant. So that if they should admit their Lordships Amendment, that he had only *Deserted* the Government, yet even from thence it would follow, That the Throne was thereby become Vacant as to King *James* the Second; Deserting the Government being in their Constructions, a Deserting the Throne.

Besides, that in the second place their Lordships had already admitted the same, by Addressing to the Prince of *Orange* the 28th of *December* last, to take
upon

upon him the Administration of the Publick Offices both Civil and Military, to take into his Care the Kingdom of *Ireland*, till the Meeting of the Convention; to write his Letters for the meeting of the Commons, and directing the Choice of them; by their Lordships meeting in the said Convention, in pursuance of those Letters; by their renewing the said Address to the Prince in a reference to the publick Affairs and the Kingdom of *Ireland* since they met; and by appointing days of publick 'Thanksgiving throughout the Kingdom; all which Acts implied, that it was their Lordships Opinion, that the Throne was Vacant, since by those Acts they signified as much to the People.

Then again, it was from those that sat upon the Throne of *England*, when there are any such, that the People of *England* were to receive Protection, and to whom, for that cause, they ow'd their Allegiance; but there being none, from whom they could expect regal Protection, and to whom they ow'd Allegiance, for that reason, therefore the Commons conceived the Throne was Vacant.

After

After this, the Lords returning to their House, reported the Matter of the Conference; upon which the Question being put, whether their Lordships should agree to the Vote of the Commons, it was carried in the Affirmative, by twenty Voices.

While this Matter was in Dispute, the Commons sent for Sir *James Smith* for Bailing Mr. *Brent*, and ordered him to be committed to the Serjeant of the House.

But now the Lords and Commons being united in their Opinions, that the Throne was Vacant, to supply the Vacancy, both Houses came to a Resolution unanimously, that the Prince and Princess of *Orange* should be declared King and Queen of *England*. So that after they had passed an Order, *That the day of Thanksgiving on the sixth of February, on which day the late King James the Second came to the Throne, should not be observed in the Kingdom:* And both Houses being agreed upon the necessary Heads relating to the Publick Safety, they proceeded to declare as follows:

S

 *Whereas*

WHereas the late King James the Second, by the Assistance of diverse Evil Counsellors, Judges and Ministers employed by him, did endeavour to Subvert and Extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom;

By assuming and exercising a Power of Dispensing with, and suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without consent of Parliament;

By Committing and Prosecuting divers Worthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be excused from concurring with the said Assumed Power;

By issuing and causing to be executed a Commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court, called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes;

By Levying Money to and for the use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other time, and in other manner then the same was granted by Parliament;

By Raising and Keeping a standing Army within this Kingdom in time of Peace, without consent of Parliament, and Quartering of Souldiers contrary to Law;

By

By causing several good Subjects, being Protestants, to be Disarm'd, at the same time, when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to Law;

By violating the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament; and lastly,

By Prosecutions in the Court of Kings-Bench, for Matters and Causes Cognizable only in Parliament, and by divers other Arbitrary and Illegal Courses.

And whereas of late years Partial, Corrupt and unqualified Persons have been returned and served upon Juries in Trials, and particularly divers Jurors in Trials for High Treason, which were not Free-holders.

And Excessive Bail has been required of Persons committed in Criminal Causes, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made for the Liberty of the Subject.

And Excessive Fines have been imposed, and illegal and cruel Punishments inflicted: And several Grants and Promises made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction or Judgment against

the Persons upon whom the same were to be Levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes and Freedom of this Realm. And whereas the said Late King *James* the Second, having *Abdicated* the Government, and the Throne being thereby Vacant, his Highness the Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the Glorious Instrument of Delivering the Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power) did, by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers Principal Persons of the Commons, cause Letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and other Letters to the several Counties, Cities, Universities, Boroughs and Cinque-Ports, for the choosing of such Persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at *Westminster* upon the 20th of *January* 1688. in order to such an Establishment, as that their Religion, Laws and Liberties might not again be in danger of being Subverted; upon which Letters,
Elections

Elections were made accordingly ; and thereupon the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons pursuant to their respective Letters and Elections, being now assembled in a full and Free Representative of this Nation, taking into their most serious Consideration, the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place, as their Ancestors in the like case have usually done, for the vindicating and asserting their Ancient Rights and Liberties, Declare,

THAT the pretended Power of Suspending Laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal Authority, without consent of Parliament, is Illegal.

That the pretended Power of Dispensing with Laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal Authority, as it has been assumed and exercised of late, is Illegal.

That the Commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other Commissions and Courts of the like Nature, are Illegal and pernicious.

That Levying of Money for or to the use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament; or for longer time, or in any other manner, then the same is, or shall be granted, is Illegal.

That it is the Right of the Subjects to Petition the King; and that all Commitments and Prosecutions for such Petitioning, are Illegal.

That the raising or keeping a standing Army, within the Kingdom in time of Peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against Law.

That the Subjects which are Protestants, may have Arms for their Defence, suitable to their Condition, and as allowed by Law.

That Elections of Members for Parliament ought to be Free.

That the Freedom of Speech and Debates, or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or place out of Parliament.

That Excessive Bail ought not to be required, or excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted.

That Jurors ought to be duly impannelled and returned, and that Jurors which pass
upon

upon men in Trials for High Treason, ought to be Free-holders.

That all Grants and Promises of Fines, and Forfeitures of particular Persons before Conviction, are illegal and void.

And that for Redress of Grievances, and for amending, strengthening and preserving the Laws, Parliaments ought to be frequently held.

And they do claim and demand, and insist upon all and singular the Premises, as their undoubted Rights and Liberties. And that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings or Proceedings, to the Prejudice of the People, in any of the Premises ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into Consequence or Example.

To which demand of their Rights, they are particularly encouraged by the Declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full Redress and Remedy therein.

Having therefore an intire Confidence that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the Deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still pre-

serve them from the Violation of their Rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, Rights and Liberties: The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at *Westminster*, do Resolve,

THAT William and Mary Prince and Princeß of Orange be, and be declared King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging; To hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, to them the said Prince and Princeß during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them. And that the sole and full Exercise of the Regal Power be only in, and Executed by the said Prince of Orange, in the Names of the said Prince and Princeß during their Joynt-Lives. And after their Deceases, the said Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, to be to the Heirs of the Body of the said Princeß. And for Default of such Issue, to the Princeß Ann of Denmark, and the Heirs of her Body; and for default of such Issue,
to

to the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of Orange. And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess of Orange to accept the same accordingly. And that the Oaths hereafter mention'd be taken by all persons, of whom the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy might be requir'd by Law, in stead of them; and that the said Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy may be Abrogated.

I A. B. do sincerely Promise and Swear, that I will be Faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God.

I A. B. do Swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes Excommunicated or Depriv'd by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be Depos'd or Murdered by the Subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, has or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence or Authority
Ec-

*Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this Realm.
So help me God.*

And this Declaration was ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembl'd at *Westminster*, to be Engross'd in Parchment, enroll'd among the Rolls of Parliament, and Recorded in Chancery.

To which this Answer was immediately most Graciously return'd,

THAT it was certainly the greatest proof of the Trust they had in him, that could be given, which was the thing that made him value it the more, and that he thankfully accepted what they had offer'd. And that as he had no other intention in coming into the Kingdom, then to preserve their Religion, Laws and Liberties, so they might be sure he should endeavour to support them, and would be willing to concur in any thing that should be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that was in his Power to advance the Glory and Welfare of the Nation.

There-

Thereupon in pursuance of the Declaration, so Presented and Graciously accepted, upon the Tirteenth of *February* 168¹. about Ten in the Morning, the Lords and Commons came from *Westminster* to *Whitehall* in their Coaches, and alighting at the Gate went up to the Banquetting House, where they Presented the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, with an Instrument in Writing, for declaring their Highness's King and Queen of *England, France and Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, desiring them to accept the Crown, pursuant to their Declaration; which after their Highness's had been pleas'd to accept, the Lords and Commons repair'd down again to *Whitehall* Gate, where they found the Heralds of Arms, the Serjeants of Arms, the Trumpets, and other Officers all in a readiness, as being there Assembl'd by Orders from the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marshal of *England*. At what time, Sir *Thomas St. George* Knight Garter, Principal King at Arms, having receiv'd a Proclamation; and an Order from the Lords House to the Kings Heralds

ralds, and Pursuivants at Arms, for Publishing or Proclaiming the same forthwith: The Persons concern'd, immediately disposed themselves into Order, before the Court Gate, for making the said Proclamation: at what time the Trumpets having sounded a Call three several times, the last of which was answer'd by a loud Shout of the vast multitudes of People there Assembl'd; so soon as the noise ceas'd, *Garter King* at Arms read the Proclamation, by short Periods, which were repeated and Proclaim'd aloud by *Robert Devenish* Esq; *York Herald*, being the Senior Herald, in these words,

‘ **W** Hereas it has pleas’d Almighty
 ‘ God, in his Great Mercy to
 ‘ this Kingdom, to vouchsafe us a mira-
 ‘ culous deliverance from Popery and
 ‘ Slavery; and that our preservation is
 ‘ due, next under God, to the Resolu-
 ‘ tion and Conduct of his Highness the
 ‘ Prince of *Orange*, whom God has cho-
 ‘ sen to be the Glorious Instrument of
 ‘ such an inestimable Happiness to us and
 ‘ our Posterity: And being highly sen-
 ‘ sible,

‘sible, and fully perswaded, of the
‘Great and Eminent Vertues of her
‘Highness the Princess of *Orange*, whose
‘Zeal for the Protestant Religion, will
‘no doubt, bring a great blessing along
‘with her upon this Nation. And
‘whereas the Lords and Commons now
‘Assembl’d at *Westminster*, have made a
‘Declaration, and presented the same
‘to the said Prince and Princess of *O-*
‘*range*, and therein desir’d them to ac-
‘cept the Crown, who have accepted
‘the same accordingly. We therefore
‘the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
‘Commons, together with the Lord
‘Mayor and Citizens, and other of the
‘Commons of this Realm, do with a
‘full consent Publish and Proclaim, ac-
‘cording to the said Declaration, *Wil-*
‘*liam* and *Mary*, Prince and Princess of
‘*Orange*, to be King and Queen of *Eng-*
‘*land*, *France* and *Ireland*, with all the
‘Dominions thereunto belonging. Who
‘are accordingly to be own’d, deemed,
‘accepted and taken, by all the Peo-
‘ple of the aforesaid Realms and Do-
‘minions, who are from hence forward
‘bound to acknowledge, and pay unto
‘them

‘ them all Faith and True Allegiance.
‘ Beseeching God, by whom Kings
‘ Reign, to bless King *William* and Queen
‘ *Mary* with long and happy Years to
‘ Reign over us.

The Proclamation being ended, and the Trumpets sounding a Flourish, were answer’d again by the loud repeated Shouts and Acclamations of the People.

After that they rode forward to Proclaim the same Proclamation, within Temple Bar, in Cheap-side, and at the Royal Exchange, proceeding after this manner.

First, The several Beadles of the Liberty of *Westminster*; next, the Constables of the said Liberty, all on Foot, with the High Constable on Horse-back. After them, the Head Bailiff of *Westminster*, and his Men, all with White-staves, on Horse-back, to clear the way. Then the Knight Marshals men, also on Horse-back. Next to these a Class of Trumpeters, nine in all; two, two, two, and three, follow’d by the Serjeant Trumpeter, carrying his Mace; all on Horse-back also. Then a Pursuivant
at

at Arms single. Then a Pursuivant and a Serjeant at Arms; then another Pursuivant and a Serjeant at Arms. Then four Heralds at Arms, one after another; each with a Serjeant at Arms on his left Hand: the Heralds and Pursuivants being all in their rich Coats of the Royal Arms; and the Serjeants at Arms every one carrying his Mace, and all on Horse-back. Then Garter King at Arms, in his rich Coat of Arms, carrying the Proclamation, accompanied by Sir *Thomas Duppa*, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, in his Crimson Mantle, of the Order of the Garter; his Black Rod, the Ensign of his Office.

After these, immediately follow'd the Marquis of *Halifax*, who executed the Place of Speaker of the House of Lords, in his Coach, attended by Sir *Roger Harsenet*, Eldest Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace. Then follow'd *Henry Powle* Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons, attended by *John Topham*, Serjeant at Arms to the said House, with his Mace. After the two Speakers follow'd the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marshal, and Primeer Duke of *England*, in his

his Coach, with his Marshals Staff in his Hand: and next to Him all the Peers, in order in their Coaches; and last of all, the Members of the House of Commons in their Coaches.

In this Order they proceeded towards Temple Bar, and being come as far as the May-Pole in the *Strand*, two of the Officers at Arms, with a Serjeant at Arms, and two Trumpets, rode before to Temple Bar; where the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs being by that time arriv'd, and having order'd the Gates to be shut, the Herald at Arms knockt at the Gate. Upon which the Sheriff, being on Horse-back, coming to the Gate, the Herald acquainted him, *That he came by Order of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Assembled at Westminster, to demand Entrance into that famous City, for the Proclaiming of William and Mary King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, and therefore requir'd their speedy Answer.* The Message thus deliver'd, the Sheriffs order'd the Gates to be open'd. Whereupon leaving the Head Bailiff, Constables, and Beadles of
of

of *Westminster*, without the Bar; the rest of the Proceeding enter'd, and found the Aldermen, Recorder and Sheriffs, all in their Formalities, and on Horse-back, except the Lord Mayor who was in his Coach, attended by the Sword-bearer and other Officers; who receiving them with all respectful Ceremony, they made a stand, between the two Temple Gates, and Proclaim'd their Majesties a Second Time. From whence they proceeded forward to *Cheap-side*, a noise of the City Trumpets, and the Lord Mayors Livery-Men leading the Way, and the Aldermen and Lord Mayor falling in to the Proceeding; and near *Woodstreet* end, making another stand, they Proclaim'd their Majesties a Third Time: and thence arriving at the Exchange about Two of the Clock, they Proclaim'd them a Fourth Time, while the vast Multitudes of Spectators, who throng'd the Streets, Balconies and Windows, fill'd the Air with loud and repeated Acclamations of Joy. Within the City also four Regiments of the Train-bands were drawn

T

up

up on both sides of the Streets from Temple Bar to the Exchange.

And thus you have an Accompt of the Grounds, and Original Causes, the Progress and prudent Conduct, and happy Accomplishment of one of the Greatest Revolutions in the World. Happy for three Potent Nations, that were rowling down Hill into an Abyss of Slavery and Ruin, till the *Nassovian*, like the *Flavian* Family, among the Dejected and almost ruin'd *Romans*, undertook with an unparallell'd Magnanimity, to restore and re-establish the tottering and drooping Empire. A Story, which when Posterity shall read and well consider the Incomparable Courage, the Piety, the Prudence and Provident Choice of the Lords, for the Renowned Instrument of their Countries Deliverance, there will be nothing found to parallel all This, but the Fortitude and Conduct of the Renowned Undertaker.



A True List of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Summoned to Meet at *Westminster* the 22th day of *January*, 1688.

Henry *Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal.*

Charles *Duke of Somerset.*

Henry *Duke of Newcastle.*

Charles *Duke of Southampton.*

Henry *Duke of Grafton.*

George *Duke of Northumberland.*

James *Duke of Ormond.*

Henry *Duke of Beaufort.*

Charles *Marquess of Winchester.*

George *Marquess of Halifax.*

Robert *Earl of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain.*

Aubrey *Earl of Oxford.*

Charles *Earl of Shrewsbury.*

Anthony *Earl of Kent.*

William Richard George *Earl of Derby.*

John *Earl of Rutland.*

Theophilus *Earl of Huntingdon.*

William *Earl of Bedford.*

Thomas *Earl of Pembroke and Mountgomery.*

Edward *Earl of Lincoln.*

Henry *Earl of Suffolk.*

Charles *Earl of Dorset and Middlesex.*

John *Earl of Exeter.*

John *Earl of Bridgewater.*

Philip *Earl of Leicester.*

George *Earl of Northampton.*

William *Earl of Devon.*

William *Earl of Denbigh.*

John *Earl of Bristol.*

John *Earl of Clare.*

Paulet *Earl of Bullingbrook.*

Charles *Earl of Westmerland.*

Charles *Earl of Manchester.*

Thomas *Earl of Berks.*

John *Earl of Mulgrave.*

Thomas *Earl of Rivers.*

Thomas *Earl of Stamford.*

Heneage *Earl of Winchelsea.*

William *Earl of Kingston.*

Charles *Earl of Carnarvan.*

Philip *Earl of Chesterfield.*

Thomas *Earl of Thanet.*

William *Earl of Strafford.*

Robert *Earl of Scarisdale.*

Henry *Earl of Clarendon.*

Mount James *Earl of Anglesey.*
John *Earl of Bath.*
Edward *Earl of Carlisle.*
William *Earl of Craven.*
fex. Thomas *Earl of Aylesbury.*
Richard *Earl of Burlington.*
Anthony *Earl of Shaftsbury.*
Thomas *Earl of Suffex.*
Edward Henry *Earl of Lichfield.*
Lewis *Earl of Feversham.*
Charles *Earl of Macclesfield.*
Charles Bodville *Earl of Radnor.*
William *Earl of Yarmouth.*
George *Earl of Berkley.*
Thomas *Earl of Danby.*
Daniel *Earl of Nottingham.*
Laurence *Earl of Rochester.*
James *Earl of Abingdon.*
Edward *Earl of Gainesborough.*
Conyers *Earl of Holderness.*

William *Viscount Say and Seale.*
Thomas *Viscount Falconberg.*
Charles *Viscount Mordant.*
Francis *Viscount Newport.*
Thomas *Viscount Weymouth.*
Christopher *Viscount Hatton.*

Charles *Lord* Delaware.

Thomas *Lord* Mörley and Mounteagle.

Robert *Lord* Ferrers.

Henry Yelverton *Lord* Grey of Ruthin.

Coniers Darcy *Lord* Darcy.

Ralph *Lord* Eure.

Philip *Lord* Wharton.

Thomas *Lord* Willoughby of Parham.

William *Lord* Pagett.

Charles *Lord* North and Grey.

James *Lord* Chandois.

Foulke *Lord* Brooke.

Ralph *Lord* Mountague.

Ford *Lord* Grey of Warke.

John *Lord* Lovelace.

William *Lord* Maynard.

Thomas *Lord* Coventry.

William *Lord* Howard of Escricke.

Henry *Lord* Herbert of Cherbury.

Thomas *Lord* Leigh.

Thomas *Lord* Jermyu.

William *Lord* Byron.

John *Lord* Vaughan.

Edward *Lord* Ward.

Thomas *Lord* Colepeper.

Jacob *Lord* Astley.

Robert *Lord* Lucas.

Edward *Lord* Rockingham.

Robert

Robert *Lord* Lexington.
John *Lord* Berkley.
Francis *Lord* Holles.
Charles *Lord* Cornwallis.
Henry *Lord* Delamere.
Thomas *Lord* Crew.
John *Lord* Arundel of Trefise.
Richard *Lord* Lumley.
George Carteret *Lord* Carteret.
John *Lord* Ossulston.
George *Lord* Dartmouth.
Ralph *Lord* Stawell.
Sidney *Lord* Godolphin.
John *Lord* Churchill.

Archbishops and Bishops.

WILLIAM *Lord Archbishop* of
Canterbury.

THOMAS *Lord Archbishop* of York.

Henry *Lord Bishop* of London.

Nathaniel *Lord Bishop* of Durham.

Peter *Lord Bishop* of Winchester.

Herbert *Lord Bishop* of Hereford.

William *Lord Bishop* of Norwich.

Thomas *Lord Bishop* of Coventry and
Litchfield.

John *Lord Bishop* of Chichester.

Thomas Lord Bishop of Lincoln.
Humphrey Lord Bishop of Bangor.
William Lord Bishop of Worcester.
William Lord Bishop of Landaff.
Thomas Lord Bishop of Peterborough.
William Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.
Robert Lord Bishop of Gloucester.
Francis Lord Bishop of Ely.
Thomas Lord Bishop of St. Davids.
Thomas Lord Bishop of Rochester.
Jonathan Lord Bishop of Bristol.
Thomas Lord Bishop of Carlisle.
Thomas Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.
Timothy Lord Bishop of Oxon.

A List of the Knights, Citizens
and Burgesses, Summoned to
Meet at *Westminster* the 22th
day of *January*, 1688.

Bedfordshire 4.

THe Honourable Edward Russel Esq;
William Duncombe, Esq;
Town of *Bedford*.

Thomas Christie Esq;
Thomas Hillersdon Esq;

Berks 9.

The Honourable Mountague Bertie, Lord
Norris.

Sir Henry Winchcombe Bar.
Borough of *New-Windsor*.

Henry Powle Esq;
Sir Christopher Wren Kt.
Borough of *Reading*.

Sir William Rich Bar.
Sir Henry Fane Knight of the Bath.

Borough

Borough of *Wallingford*.Thomas Tipping *Esq;*William Jennens *Esq;*Borough of *Abington*.Thomas Medlicott *Esq;**Bucks* 14.*The Honourable* Thomas Wharton *Esq;**Sir* Thomas Lee *Bar.*Town of *Buckingham*.*Sir* Richard Temple *Knight of the Bath*
*and Bar.**Sir* Ralph Verney *Bar.*Borough of *Chipping-Wicomb*.Thomas Lewes *Esq;*William Jephson *Esq;*Borough of *Aylisbury*.Thomas Lee *Esq;*Richard Beake *Esq;*Borough of *Agmondesham*.*Sir* William Drake *Kt.*Edmund Waller *Esq;*Borough of *Wendover*.Richard Hampden *Esq;*John Hampden *Esq;*

Borough

Borough of Great Marlow.

Anthony Viscount Falkland.

Sir John Borlace Bar.

Cambridge 6.

Sir Levinus Bennet Bar.

Sir Robert Cotton Kt.

University of Cambridge.

Sir Robert Sawyer Kt.

Isaac Newton Master of Arts.

Town of Cambridge.

Sir Thomas Chichly Kt.

John Cotton Esq;

Chester 4.

Sir Robert Cotton Knight and Bar.

John Mainwaring Esq;

City of Chester.

Roger Whitley Esq;

George Mainwaring Alderman.

Cornwal 44.

Sir John Carew Bar.

Hugh Boscawen Esq;

Borough of Dunhivid, alias Lanceston.

William Harbord Esq;

Edward Russel Esq;

Borough of Leskard.

*Sir Bourcheir Wrey Bar. and Knight of
the Bath.*

John Buller Esq;

Borough

*Borough of Lestwithiel.**The Honourable Francis Robarts Esq;**Walter Kendall Esq;**Borough of Truro.**Sir Henry Ashurst Kt.* }*Henry Vincent Esq;* }*John Tredenham Esq;* }*John Manley Jun. Esq;* }*Borough of Bodmin.**Sir John Cutler Knight and Bar.**Nicholas Glynn Esq;**Borough of Helston.**Sir John St. Aubyn Bar.**Charles Godolphin Esq;**Borough of Saltash.**The Honourable Bernard Grenville Esq;**John Wadon Esq;**Borough of Gamelford.**Ambrose Manaton Esq;**Henry Manaton Esq;**Borough of Port-Higham, alias Westow.**Peirce Kirke Esq;**James Kendal Esq;**Borough of Grampond.**Edward Herle Esq;**John Tanner Esq;*

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Borough of Weobley.

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Late Revolution.

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Late Revolution.

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Late Revolution.

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Town of Carnarvan.

Denby 2.

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